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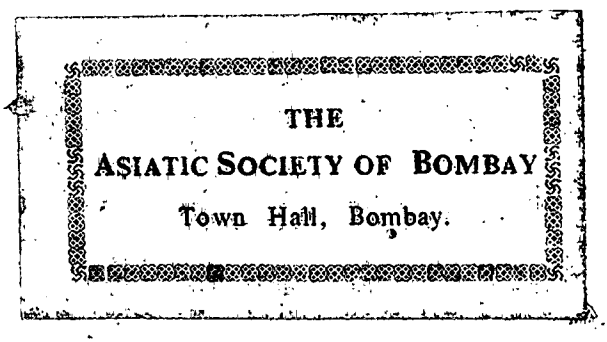

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THE

HISTORY OF NORMANDY

AND OF

ENGLAND,

BY

SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE, K.H.

THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF HER MAJESTY'S
PUBLIC RECORDS.

35060 ac

VOLUME IV.

WILLIAM RUFUS—ACCESSION OF HENRY BEAUCLERC.

Narratione autem historica (ait Augustinus) cum præterita etiam hominum instituta narrantur, non inter humana instituta ipsa historia numeranda est; quia jam quæ transierunt, nec infecta fieri possunt, in ordine temporum habenda sunt, quorum est conditor et administrator Deus.

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ERRATA.

Page 24, line 27, for "Carthose," read "Courthose."
„ 56, line 21, for "presided by," read "presided over by."
„ 177, line 3, for "Anslem," read "Anselm."
„ 229, in marginal note, for "Vetalis," read "Vitalis."
„ 556, line 11, for "objugations," read "objurgations."
„ 699, line 22, for "Lagam," read "Legem."
„ 707, line 7, for "grandson," read "son."

BOOK IV.

THE CONQUEROR'S SONS.

CHAPTER I.

THE EVENTS CONSEQUENT UPON THE ACCESSION OF RUFUS IN ENGLAND, AND OF ROBERT IN NORMANDY.

1087, 1088.

1087, 1088

1087 August, September.

Popular opinions concerning the Conqueror.

§ 1. WE have seen how William the Conqueror has been gathered to his fathers. Usual pageantries ensued: loud praises bestowed upon the departed monarch by those who enjoyed his bounty or profited by his patronage. Poets abounded in court and cloister, expatiating upon his merits, vying with one another in composing the epitaph, worthy to be inscribed upon the rich tomb at Caen, raised between presbytery and choir, concealing William's last conquest, his contested grave. A splendid work was this memorial, studded with gems, and covered with the plates of precious metal hammered and embossed by Ottone, the Goldsmith—Otto Aurifaber in the pages of *Domesday*. Many fine lordships did this cunning disciple of Saint Eloy receive from the

1087 Conqueror in Essex and elsewhere, the rewards of his craft, parcels of Earl Algar's confiscated domains. He transmitted inheritance and skill to a long descent of Knights and Sheriffs, great county men, yet following their ancestor's vocation, money-changers, and engravers to the mint; until, through the daughters of the last Fitz-Otto, the lineage is lost in aristocracy. One vill or manor, Beauchamp-Otton, six miles from Hedingham Keep, acquired by the Goldsmith's posterity, still bears his Lombard-sounding name, conjoined to that of the high alliance which his family had formed.

Amongst the competitors for the laureateship, was the northern Metropolitan, Archbishop Thomas; so famed for facile composition and ready flow; and he obtained the distinction of commemorating, as it was thought, perennially, William's stern prowess, in stately, and, for the age, most scholar-like, grammar-Latin verse.

The Conqueror's epitaph by the Archbishop of York.

Qui rexit rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit;
Et Cenomannenses virtute coercuit enses,
Imperiique sui legibus applicuit;
Rex magnus parva jacet hic Guillelmus in urna:
Sufficit et magno parva domus domino.
Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus,
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, et hic obiit.

A vain attempt, if addressed to posterity. Long since has the tomb been ruined: Chastillon's Huguenots broke it down; and William's bones,

not allowed to rest in his unjust acquisition, were contumeliously cast into the common mire of the filthy city. And it was still more vain in the poet's own time: his verses fell dead upon the ear. Not so the strains of the other poets, rehearsing William's deeds in another tongue. Go to England: there in street and market you may see the crowds thronging around the gleeman, trolling stave after stave of the rudely rhyming ballad,— 1087

Minstrel ballads censuring the Conqueror.

> For slaying hart and hind
> Doth many a man go blind.
> He loved the dappled deer
> As he their father were;

and how clerk and layman, earl and churl, "did forfeit life and limb, if they would not yield to him," all equally weighed down by his inexorable tyranny; his misdeeds lengthening the chaunt's monotonous melody.

Popular feeling.

In the churches throughout the land they were singing dirge and requiem. But men's tongues are unloosed and unbound: things which the many had thought, though none had dared to say, became words; words, boldly uttered, no longer whispered between the two wayfarers on the solitary road, or faintly enounced amongst the three companions at the board, carefully looking round lest the listening spy should be near. Men speak aloud: the people pass judgment upon the departed King.

Awe, anger, pity, all concurred in the popular

1087 mind. Those who deemed most truly, felt most kindly.—"May the Almighty God shew mercy to his soul, and grant him forgiveness of his sins. These things have we spoken concerning him, both good and evil, that men may choose the good after their goodness, and flee from the evil withal, and go in the way that leadeth to the kingdom of heaven."—Truisms, flat truisms, it may be replied. Certainly, but not the less worthy of repetition, for a truism is nothing else but a disagreeable home-truth, pinching us hard, and which we try to evade; a dun to whom we deny ourselves, but who knocks and knocks; a poor relation, against whom we cannot close the door; a preacher driving us into a corner by texts and warnings, and from whom we would fain get away.

Those who prayed received their comfort, and to them their sentiments became reality. The panegyrists lost their pains. The majority vexed themselves with useless despite, dwelling upon William's greediness, his implacability, his contempt for all control, and, more than that, for all human feeling.—"Never has there been a time," said they, "of such distress, such sorrow: is there a hide of land in England that he has not set down in his great book: an acre of which he did not know the worth to a penny? How many a Noble has he put in bands and fetters: how many a Bishop and Abbot has he deprived!

Never had England such sorrow, such distress as under him, who recked not the hatred of us all." 1087

§ 2. Are we, in our nineteenth century, required to join in this promulgation of popular sentiment? England suffered most acutely by the Norman Conquest: but, comparing, as far as we can imperfectly know and tell, the similar or analogous punishments of nations, never was so crushing a subjection accompanied by less oppression and wrong. Bitter oppression, cruel wrong;—yet oppression, which, according to the world's opinion, is inevitable; wrong which the statesman never fails to justify. In proportion as the grades of society descended, so did the hardships diminish. There was no permanent evil inflicted on the great masses of society. The shattered and decayed elements of old English policy were preserved, and the means provided for reuniting them in a more efficient organization. London retained all her Anglo-Saxon integrity. London Stone was not moved. All the Sokes preserved their franchises. Colchester Townsmen met in Colchester Moothall. Lincoln's Lawmen kept their statutes. The Burghs of Mercia held their "morning speech," even as their kinsmen in the red Westphalian land. No Englishman, who patiently had continued in scot and lot, became an alien in his own country. No peasant was expelled from his cottage, no churl from his patrimonial field. So far as the

The balance of good and evil resulting from the Conquest.

1087 Norman administration reached the villein, he obtained greater protection for the fruits of his labour, more assurance in the quiet and comfort of house and home, than he had enjoyed under the Confessor. His rent could not be raised, his services could not be increased. Above all, no "penal laws," no persecution of faith, no legalized degradation, no spite against nationality, no proscription of dress or language, no useless insult, no labour of hatred to render contempt everlasting; no "Glorious Memory," no "Boyne Water," no "Croppies lie down."—Before the first year after the Conqueror's death has closed, we shall see the favour of the English nation sought by the Norman king.

Those who writhe under the wound's immediate smart and anguish, are rarely able to judge of the future danger. An injury, seemingly slight, may inflame, spread, and occasion death: whilst the deep, gaping gash, frightful to look upon, but which has not touched a vital part, can heal; and the body be restored to its pristine vigour. Even the very syncope resulting from the loss of blood, may aid the intention, producing an ultimate cure. Such was the case with England: the hard foreign government was alone felt, and the alleviations disregarded. Great as were the evils of national subjugation, they were exaggerated; and William's despotism, which hardened his whole administration, in-

duced the crushed multitude to undervalue the benefits they had received. 1087

Yet even at that period, two opinions might be formed. Those least inclined to extenuate the oppressions of the Conqueror; those who grieved for the hardships of their fellow-countrymen, and mourned for their sins, have told much good of him. As in the days of Rollo, the sword wielded by the Norman ruler was the sword of justice. When war ceased in the land, that sword continued unsheathed for the preservation of the peace; and effectually. During these intervals the land rested. No slaughter, no violence, no robbery, no blood-feud: the rich man might travel from England end to end unhurt, with his bosom full of gold; matron and maiden went forth blithely, without dread of harm. Alfred could have done no more.

The forest laws and the New Forest.

§ 3. But there was an error in William's policy which often becomes inveterate amongst the ablest rulers. Had not William the Conqueror offended the people's feeling, he might have gained, if not the love, yet the sullen respect of his subjects. Imagination is a most powerful engine of government; though Statesmen scorn the faculty, whilst Economists and Lawyers treat it as null. Some one opposition to sentiment, may excite intenser hatred than the most grievous tyranny. We are more affronted by offences against our tastes than by contraventions

1087 of our principles; and there are some demands like the last feather breaking the horse's back, whereunto neither individuals nor nations will yield. It is not the oriental imagery of Aladdin, but the oriental wisdom, which constitutes the charm of the Arabian tale. The Slave of the lamp placed all the world's riches at the feet of the talisman's owner; but he would not bring Aladdin the Roc's egg: there the Slave's slavery ended. When Aladdin asked the Genius for the Roc's egg, the Genius rebelled and departed. Every man, every woman, every child, every community, every state, every nation, broods over some one Roc's egg: touch it, and your slave will break away. It is therefore a great wisdom in all rulers to leave the Roc's egg alone.

William the Conqueror had been fully able to subjugate the English; but the extreme vexation they sustained from the rigour of his forest laws, well nigh destroyed the empire he founded. Violations of a law higher than the law of nature, those abuses of the power over the earth and the earth's products, which man possesses by delegation and not as an inherent right, have continued to be the source of discontent and resistance from generation to generation. The hateful forest laws assisted in placing our first Charles upon the scaffold: and, in a scarcely mitigated form, continue to embitter the poor against the rich at the present day. This

code was not William's—it was Canute's; but the cruelty with which the Conqueror extended and enforced the odious jurisprudence, occasioned unmitigated horror. The New Forest of Hampshire, as the ancient Jettenwald, the Weald of Giants, now began to be called, was deemed the consummation of selfish cruelty. 1087

In the churches founded by William they were singing dirge and requiem; yet, what profits the endowment of the monks of Battle, or the dotation to the priests of Coutances and Rouen, if sixty churches are cast down in the fertile townships now desolate and abandoned? Where the spade of the husbandman dug the ground, and the goodwife span before the door, the lithe doe springs in fearlessly from the surrounding glade. The tofts in which the cottages stood are yet bare, and the ashes still heap the hearth; but the rank herbage and the palmy fern will speedily hide them. The walls of the unroofed chancel are yet standing; but they will soon begin to crumble down upon the altar. Here had the Conqueror spurred his steed and delighted in the slaughter, witnessing with pleasure the dumb anguish of the fleeting stag pursued by the hound, the hieroglyphic so often seen in the mystical sculptures of the Basilica, denoting the power of evil seeking the sinner's soul; and therefore was not the haunted ground considered as accursed? Ominous forebodings, and misfortunes, already more than

1087 forebodings, had marked the New Forest as fraught with evil to the Norman dynasty.

The conflicting titles of the Conqueror's three sons.

§ 4. Perhaps the unequal bequests made by William, to the firstborn, the younger, and the youngest, were inevitable. Trouble unites to unjust power in its nascent state, and continues an inseparable element: such a distribution was certain to foment hatred and dissension amongst the Princes, and become a temptation and a snare to the people. It was a great misfortune, both to their subjects and themselves, that each of the three sons might support his claim for the entire inheritance by reasons sufficiently plausible, and yet no one had so clear a right, as to silence his competitors.

Robert the firstborn.

Amongst the Normans, the prevailing feeling was in favour of primogeniture. The right as to males was so generally admitted that it almost had the force of law. Robert, associated to the government in early youth, had been designated as the successor of his father in Normandy: an union between Normandy and England was obviously the measure best calculated to secure the interests of the Norman baronage. Could any one hope for an enduring peace between Robert and Rufus, when the latter should become the King? Every Lord of a Norman seignory, whose name appeared in the roll of Winton, would be distracted by a divided allegiance. He would be bound to serve two masters; on each side of the

channel adherence to the joint, yet severed Liege Lords, would jeopardize the baronies hither or thither beyond the sea. 1087

Fully admitting Robert's pre-eminence, Rufus opposed his pretensions to the English crown, by pleading the Conqueror's last will and testament. It was very doubtful whether the principle of inalienability could be predicated concerning any other than a patrimonial and dominant Fief. What the son had derived as the inheritance of the father, the grandson was to hold as the heir of the grandsire. Three generations were needed to vest the right in the blood. But the father's earnings might be bestowed at his free will and pleasure. England, as the *prud'-homme* would declare, was an acquest, fully subject to the Conqueror's disposal; and Rufus deserved the bounty. Whatever were the failings of Rufus, he had been an affectionate and dutiful son, the only affectionate and dutiful son: his father's centinel in war, his companion in peace; therefore if William possessed the right of rewarding him, was not the exercise of the right conformable equally to moral sentiment and to law? Rufus the devisee.

"All this is indifferent to me," might Henry Beauclerc have replied—"Norman customs are wise: my father spoke his intent; but my countrymen tell me that I am the only true and legitimate heir." It was the popular belief, if not entirely the established constitutional doctrine Henry Beauclerc the Porphyrogenitus.

1087 in England, that no child of the Basileus could demand the crown, unless born after the royal dignity had been vested in his father. Such is the principle still prevailing in the Eastern empire as it now subsists under the Czars. Henry alone, therefore, according to this prepossession, had royal blood in his veins. He alone, the Porphyrogenitus, was the son of an anointed King and an anointed Queen: he alone had first breathed and seen the light in England, educated in England, habituated in England, speaking the English language as his native tongue. All this, without doubt, had been well known to the Conqueror, inducing him to utter the boding prediction addressed to Henry, that he would one day possess all the honours of the elder brethren: ambiguously hovering between the promise of prosperity and the prescience of misfortune; for the anticipations of the toils and sorrows preparing for his children, filled the dying man's dulled mind.

Rufus secures the English crown by the advice of Eudo Fitz-Herbert, and his uncle Odo.

§ 5. Probably during William's last mortal agony, certainly before the sad funeral, Rufus had been actively and energetically employed in securing the English crown. William, indeed, commanded him so to do; but he might have inclined to linger. Decency, perhaps sorrow, might have checked his activity during the season of mourning, had he not been urged to immediate action by useful and powerful advisers.

Eudo Fitz-Herbert, more usually called Eudo Dapifer from the office which he held, placing him in immediate relation to the royal person, earnestly moved Rufus to the enterprize. It was the tradition in Eudo's family, that he thus exerted himself in pursuance of the Conqueror's instructions. Nor would this be otherwise than consistent with William's experience and feelings. In one sense, he owed the crown to Herbert's promptness and adroitness; and these qualities had descended to Herbert's son. Bishop Odo, brought forth from his captivity, saw his visions of the Supreme Pontificate fade away, and immediately adhered to the cause of Rufus. Far more congenial to Odo was his Palatine earldom of Kent than Bayeux diocese or Bayeux cathedral: the lance than the crozier; he obeyed the impulse of pleasurable ambition, and perhaps the hopes of revenge. 1087

Eudo induces William de Ponte-Arche to surrender the treasury—secures the southern coast.

These two supporting Rufus, formed the nucleus of his party. Eudo Dapifer was first in action, wisely—not before the castle, or in open field: but assailing the heart of the empire. All the treasure amassed by the Conqueror was deposited in the vaults of Winchester. Thither Eudo proceeded, and, treating with William de Ponte-Arche (equally accommodating in the next reign) induced him to surrender the keys. Hence the High Steward proceeded rapidly along the coast. Dover, Pevensey, Hastings, and the other prin-

1087 cipal castles on the sea-bord were visited by him. His known station constituted his letter of credence. He boldly quoted Rufus as "the king;" and the garrisons promised obedience and allegiance to the soldier's friend, the Conqueror's favoured son.

Rufus arrives in England.

Rufus guarded himself against being intercepted. Instead of proceeding by the Seine, he took his route to Touques, a small haven at the mouth of the river of the same name. Here he embarked; and landing, as his subsequent stage indicates, at Southampton, advanced to Winchester. Eudo Dapifer had made the way clear for him. Odo of Bayeux resumed the possession of his earldom. With Rufus, came also many who were well seen in England. Duncan the son of Malcolm, the hostage; Harold's son and Harold's brother, and the long-banished Morcar; all delivered from thraldom. No opposition whatever was raised: the larger portion of the baronage had continued in Normandy; a circumstance greatly in favour of Rufus, for their absence diminished the number of those from whom most difficulty might be apprehended.

Lanfranc exacts promises for good government.

The Conqueror's confidential Chancery Clerk, Robert Bloet, whether accompanying or preceding Rufus, had already presented the testamentary writ to the Archbishop. From Lanfranc, Rufus might expect affection and favour. Educated by the prelate, the Norman Clito had received from

him the degree of knighthood; yet when Rufus 1087
appealed to his father's will, as the foundation of his title to the crown, Lanfranc hesitated and paused. Had he refused, had he even continued to delay, Rufus would have lost the kingdom. Lanfranc was, however, not acting upon his arbitrary opinion, but judicially. Caution was his duty. The Archbishop of Canterbury was the functionary through whom the heir, possessing an inchoate title, obtained investiture of the sovereignty. Lanfranc, distrusting Rufus, exacted such preliminary terms as would ensure his assent to the constitutional compact in due and solemn form. A new exigency had arisen demanding a new remedy. According to our ancient policy, as soon as the future King was acknowledged, his peace was proclaimed, and the breach of the peace became a crime against his crown and dignity: the interregnum ceased; and though the heir had not assumed the royal title, yet his writs began to run. He entered into the exercise of his power. Thus accepted, might not Rufus have refused to submit to the solemn obligation imposed by the Church, as the bond for securing the performance of his duties towards the whole body of the people? Lanfranc therefore demanded a threefold promise from Rufus, before assenting to co-operate in acknowledging his right,—that he would rule his subjects in justice, equity, and mercy,—protect the rights

1087 and franchises of the Church,—and, lastly,—conform to such counsels as Lanfranc might give. These conditions, if rightly understood, according to their intent and meaning, not according to their mere sound, contain all the elements of constitutional government. The Primate of Canterbury was the only individual who could claim the power of speaking out for the defence of the English people. He was their virtual representative, he stipulated for his constituents; he was prime minister in temporals by virtue of his transcendant spiritual office; and such an engagement was the only means of enforcing the principle, that the sovereign authority was to be exercised by the advice and consent of the legislature.

1087 September 26, 27, 29. Consecration and coronation of Rufus.

§ 6. There had also been, however, a prevailing disinclination against Rufus. Robert was preferred by the Norman baronage. Lanfranc, supported by Wulstan, the last-surviving member of the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy, overcame this opposition. The coronation ceremonial began on Sunday the sixth of the Kalends of October, when Rufus was consecrated by Lanfranc in the abbey church of St. Peter, before the tomb of the Confessor. On the following day, the festival of Cosmus and Damianus, he was crowned. Lastly, on the festival of Saint Michael the Archangel, the two nations, the English and the French, swore the oath of fealty, and accepted him as their King.

The Conqueror granted a charter of liberties to the English people, and so did his successors, until the increasing power of the Commons rendered the form unnecessary. All these Charters are still existing, and there is but one blank in the series: no such grant from Rufus is extant. Thrice he covenanted.—First, when seeking royal authority.—Secondly, when defending his acquired authority.—Lastly, when, as he deemed, approaching death would deprive him of that authority; but charter and concession and record have disappeared. 1087

§ 7. Rufus began his reign prudently and kindly. He had much to dread—the English, discontented, the Norman baronage distrustful, above all, his own brothers, constantly his open or secret enemies. He himself was rapidly becoming worse, but all Lanfranc's instructions had not been profitless, nor were his tendencies to virtue as yet entirely corrupted or quelled. The general intelligence which the people throughout England received concerning the King's accession, was speedily followed by the appearance of officers from his exchequer. Unwelcome at first must the sight of these visitors have been. What but taxation or extortion could be anticipated from such messengers? Monks assembled in their chapter house to consider how the demand could be best evaded. Burghmoots prepared to haggle about the "geld:" knights, and socmen, villeins, Rufus fulfils his father's charitable bequests.

1087 hundredors, all began to realize the results of that awful book of *Domesday*, wherein every man's estate was registered, fresh and marsh, plough-land and grass-land, kine and swine.

But such was not the present intention of Rufus: it was to give the poor and needy some share in the wealth laid up in store and hoard by the Conqueror. Soon as Rufus had been crowned, he returned to Winchester, the ancient capital, still maintaining a close equality with the commonwealth of London. Here was palace, seat of government, and that treasury, of which the doors had been so readily opened by William de Ponte Arche. We can fancy the riches which the depths displayed by the light of the torches: black silver in money, white silver in bars, gold in ingots, gold in ancient coin; bezants bearing the impress of the eastern emperors, massive deenars, fretted with the Cuphic characters, standing high, in square relief, above the burnished concave field; vessels rich with enamel and ancient gems, piles of silken vestments, caftans, robes and palls stiff with embroidery. All these, upon which William set his heart, had passed into the power of the willing heir, who now begins their dispersion. Gladly busy are they in every church; sacristans are placing the gifts upon the altar, opening the copes, ponderous with bullion and pearls, and hanging up the lamps they expect the royal bounty will feed. Ten marks of gold for

every cathedral, and every good monastery: sixty shillings to every parish, be it great or small, throughout the realm; moreover one hundred pounds to the poor in every shire. It is true that all these donations were the Conqueror's legacies, and not resulting from his son's bounty; yet who could have enforced the performance of the trust? Gratitude is rendered to the hand which gives, no matter wherefore or why; and the payment must have been accepted as a token not merely of the new king's justice, but also of his munificence. 1087—8

§ 8. It may be collected from subsequent transactions, that the coronation was speedily followed by the adherence, though secretly reluctant as to the greater number, of the Norman baronage, then settled in England, who took the oaths and became the King's homagers. The support received from Lanfranc and the Prelates in general, contributed to this result, aided by the King's good management and speciousness of manners, boldness, wit, whim, pleasantry. However much Rufus may have tyrannized, he always continued popular amongst those whom he gathered about him as his family or meisny. This recognition nevertheless required further ratification: for it must be recollected that England was not consolidated into one state. Hitherto the coronation of the Anglo-Saxon sovereign at Kingston, or Winchester, or even Westminster, did not import Apparent adherence of the baronage to Rufus.

1087—8 that all the several kingdoms or earldoms simultaneously accepted his authority. Northumbria, in particular, had been almost independent; and the reminiscence of the antient franchise had been tolerated by the Conqueror, for the purpose of reconciling the unruly population to the supremacy of the new dynasty.

Robert Mowbray earl of Northumbria, and his uncle Geoffrey bishop of Coutances.

It will be recollected that the Conqueror bestowed the earldom upon Geoffrey Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances, the active justiciar of England, the eminent military commander. His flock and his see were little thought of by the prelate, whose possessions spread through thirteen shires. Robert Mowbray, the prelate's nephew was, however, his known and appointed heir; and since he alone is distinguished as Earl of Northumbria, the territorial dignity must have been transferred or ceded to him; his authority being partly exercised through a Vicecomes, named Morel, connected with King Malcolm of Scotland. If a northern minstrel had described this Earl, he could have told you that Mowbray was shaggy as the bear, from whom Earl Siward descended, swarthy as Ferrargus, tall as Boemond; his stature, his boldness, his great cunning and vigour, all contributed to his influence.

Rufus immediately sought and received the favour of the Mowbray family: a favour to him, for at this juncture he obtained greater advantage by their alliance, than they could derive from

his protection. Bishop Geoffrey became his companion, and ostensibly a favourite counsellor. Mowbray had just married Matilda, the daughter of Richard de Aquila, (he who had been shot by the boy at St. Sauveur) and who was also the niece of Hugh Earl of Chester. This great Earl adhered to Rufus. Robert Fitz-Hamo, gaining ground and settling himself in the acquisitions he had made in the land of the Britons, followed the same example; an important aid to Rufus, as counterbalancing the doubtful loyalty of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the "Normannus Normannorum," famous Roger de Montgomery. William de Warenne in the south, who obtained a grant or renewal of the earldom of Surrey from Rufus, was an energetic, though short-lived partizan; and England, during autumn and winter, appeared to be in a state of obedience. 1087—8

§ 9. We must now advert to Normandy. Great troubles had arisen here. Previously to the Conqueror's death, the elements of disorganization were fermenting, though prevented from manifesting themselves by his vigilance and wisdom. People at large, the peasantry in the open country and the burghers in the towns, were satisfied; but discontent was lurking amongst the baronage, occasioned by the very spirit of the authority which restrained it. Obedience to the law, equality before the law, were the redeeming virtues of the Norman

Affairs of Normandy.

Discontent of the Norman baronage.

1087—8 government. The prerogative exercised by the Dukes, of placing garrisons in the baronial castles, rendered the supremacy of the Sovereign as incontestible in practice as it was in principle. There was no exemption from the *Clameur de Haro;* in every castle-yard, the sword of justice might be raised.

Robert de Belesme, his family, conduct, and character.

The leader of the revolt will occupy a prominent place in our history. This was Robert, the eldest son of Montgomery, who had been knighted by the Conqueror during the siege of Fresnay. Mabel Talvas, the cruel Mabel, the Lady of Belesme Alençon and Montgomery, his mother, merciless, and yet so loved and honoured by her husband and family, had been killed when reposing in her bed after taking the bath, a Roman luxury, which continued in constant use during the earlier periods of the middle ages.

Murder of Mabel Talvas.

Hugh de Jaujey perpetrated the slaughter; it was a bloodthirsty and cowardly act, though he had been instigated by Mabel's oppression, she having deprived him of his paternal inheritance. Roger de Montgomery, who probably might have claimed her possessions, the domains of Belesme and Alençon, now wholly separated from Maine, and united to Normandy, surrendered them wisely and willingly to their eldest son, who henceforward, by his father's directions, assumed the name of Belesme. There was much good sense in this family arrangement. It enabled

Montgomery to pursue his conquests in the Welsh Marches the more uninterruptedly: at the same time additional security was given to the family, should the event take place, which during the latter years of the Conqueror's life must have appeared so probable—the separation of Normandy and of England. 1087—8

There are some races in which cruelty is an inheritance: it continued to be the belief in Normandy that this visitation was fearfully manifested in the family of Talvas-Belesme; Robert was truly his mother's son. His barbarities, told by those who lived to witness the retributive justice which afterwards fell upon him, can only be read in the language in which they have been recorded. Like Ezzelino di Ravenna, he displayed the depth and cunning of a maniac whose talent struggled against the insanity of ferocity: causeless, objectless, paradoxical, yet horrible; and testifying the fascinating effect of that passive fear, which renders the multitude incapable of freeing themselves from tyranny; when one bold hand could do the deed.

Robert de Belesme, was proceeding to the royal court, for the purpose of treating upon business with the King. The accounts of William's danger seem to have been but slowly propagated, or, what is more probable, carefully concealed, when, passing nigh the Prudhoe of 1087 August, October.

1087—8 Normandy, Brionne, he learned his Sovereign's death. Belesme instantly pulled up, turned his steed the other way, and, by a forced march reached Alençon, where the royal garrison were still ignorant of the event; and a sudden rush or attack, enabled him and his followers to gain possession of fortress and town. From his chief castles of Alençon and Belesme; as well as from all his other strong holds, Domfront, St. Cenery, Essai, La Motte, Pontorson, Mamers, Vignes, and very many more, he equally expelled the royal troops. And as soon as he was released from the check imposed by the royal authority, he ravaged the adjoining country, seizing the possessions of his weaker neighbours. William of Evreux, ruled by his Countess the noble Héloise, another Marfisa, followed the example of Belesme, and won again the royal castle of Dangeau, thus affronting the Conqueror's memory. So did Raoul de Toeny, from whom more loyalty to the Conqueror's family might have been expected. William de Breteuil, the son of Fitzosborn, the like. The insurrection spreading, an entire liberation from the power of justice was effected by the baronage; and the misrule thus commenced, continued, without intermission, during the miserable reign of Robert Carthose.

General insurrection of the Norman baronage.

We learn these transactions only from an imperfect and desultory narrative; the tales and talk

of the cowled veterans, collected and recollected at St. Evroul, years after the events. Could the Barons have patronized a chronicler of their own, this continued turbulence might have been described as a patriotic struggle to regain their lawful independence. Under William, however, they had really sustained no grievance, except the necessity of submitting to the law: he dealt as sternly with his own subjects, in his own patrimonial duchy, as in the conquered country, even in England. 1087—8

§ 10. Robert still continued at Abbeville, under the protection of Count Guy; sporting, rioting, surrounded by his little court of hungry expectants, young, ill-conditioned men, impatient of control, rallying round an heir-apparent, whose usual position constitutes one of the principal objections, if we reason upon the subject, to hereditary monarchy. It was reported that the very garments they wore, had been won by their robberies upon the Norman Marches. Count Alberic brought the message from the dying father, recalling Robert to his inheritance, and he proceeded immediately to Rouen, and took possession without opposition. No mourner was he: he followed not his father's body to the grave. Many were there to whom Robert's faults of character rendered him the more acceptable. Robert was a singular instance of that union of ability and incapacity, of inconsistent merit and inconsistent

Robert takes possession of the duchy.

1087—8 failings, which so often perplexes the world. Personally brave, but frequently unnerved by fits of pusillanimity: intending to be kind and merciful, and yet often cruel, and apparently devoid of natural affection: endowed with talents which he rarely put to use, he was utterly unable to comprehend the duties annexed to his station; his only object was to pass a self-indulgent life, and a sluggish merry time.

Odo quits Rufus and becomes Robert's chief counsellor.

Bishop Odo, actuated by sentiments soon to be disclosed, quitted England speedily after the King's coronation, and became Duke Robert's chief counsellor. There was some similarity between his merits and faults, and those of Robert: clever, but unwise, and unable to give any useful counsel, or exercise any useful influence. It was a great defect in the State of Normandy, where the clergy had been so kept down, that there was no functionary like the Archbishop of Canterbury, possessing a station to which constitutional power in civil affairs was attached. As an order, the Norman hierarchy were destitute of political authority. The administration of the commonwealth depended entirely upon the Sovereign's personal character. Hitherto the Rulers had been prudent and able; but now the time of experiment arrived, and the strength of the government was to be tried. Robert could never deny any boon demanded by a favourite, a minion, or a courtier. He would give all that was asked, and promise

more; and no concession made by him earned any gratitude. In his grants of the royal domains he was peculiarly imprudent. William de Breteuil obtained Albreda's incomparable tower of Ivry, consecrated, so to speak, by the sacrifice of the architect. To Roger de Beaumont he gave another very strong fortress, that boastful Brionne, both in the very heart of the land. Such cessions were as wedges driven into a dominion already splitting in every direction. Robert was universally despised for his weakness and facility. Ovid's well-known verse is not applicable to sovereigns: they cannot avoid submitting to the yoke of keeping state; they must vindicate their worship, otherwise they rarely command affection; in them love and majesty must be combined. 1087–8

§ 11. Robert was not long allowed to rest in quietness: the main feeling sustaining him in his position was the intention of the Norman baronage, that, for them, the Roi Faineant should reconquer England. Robert instigated to the conquest of England.

Robert had not been restrained by any affection from rushing into war with Rufus. The son who felled his father to the ground in the conflict for a Duchy, would scarcely scruple to attack his brother for a Kingdom. Sheer idleness, ignoble sloth, withheld him. When the first news of his brother's accession was brought to him, he amused himself by swaggering jests; but, roused at length by the attempts made to excite his ambition,

1087—8 the instability of his character created in him an appetite for adventure, as eager as his preceding quiescence. None so obstinate as the feeble, when a determination has once been forced upon them, either by others or themselves.

Odo the chief instigator of the enterprize.

Robert's chief instigator was his uncle. Odo had been restored to his Kentish earldom, and treated by Rufus with much cordiality: nevertheless he sustained a bitter disappointment; he was not trusted. Rufus gave all his confidence to his other advisers: Archbishop Lanfranc was the minister who influenced him, partly by his authority, and partly by that affection which even Rufus could not undervalue. William de St. Carileph, who originally owed his appointment to Odo's influence, was another. He had now held the see for more than ten years, ever since Bishop Walcher had been murdered—an extremely able man of business, clever, subtle, and magnificent: an active and diligent churchman, who, ejecting the lazy, louting, secular canons, as he thought them, introduced the diligent Benedictines, and who planned and executed much for Durham's glory. His talent won the King's confidence; and it was believed, except by the very few who knew the secrets of the palace, that "all England fared according to his word." Either now or shortly afterwards, Robert Bloet, much encouraged by Rufus, was appointed Chancellor. Odo, finding himself in this mortify-

ing position of honoured neglect, was deeply offended. Against Lanfranc, in particular, he entertained a virulent hatred. To him, Odo ascribed his long captivity. That bitter sarcasm which William passed upon his brother when he put him in chains, is attributed to Lanfranc; not in blame, but in praise. All Lanfranc's piety could not restrain his too ready tongue. The unsuccessful plea on Pennenden heath, though a matter, small comparatively in import, was also an element of ill-will against both Lanfranc the successful plaintiff, and Gosfried the Justiciar. People never entirely get rid of the grudge against the parties who have defeated them in a lawsuit. With these feelings, Odo returned to Normandy, and acted as the recognized leader of the baronage of both dominions, when they determined to place Robert on the English throne. 1087—8

§ 12. The latter part of the autumn and the winter, were employed in organizing the conspiracy, extensively and disgracefully successful. It would have seemed impossible to anticipate such a general dereliction of principle; for all those who were plotting against Rufus in England, had just become his sworn liegemen. It was remarked, even in their own time, that there was not one of these great men free from perjury. Robert de Mortaigne, the son of Arletta, the loved brother of the Conqueror, became a chief of the discontented party, which numbered a most formidable array.—Eustace of Boulogne, Conspiracy of the Anglo-Norman baronage. October 1087. February 1088.

1087—8 the younger son of Eustace aux Grenons, who had been called over by the English against the Conqueror, himself destined to be the father-in-law of an English King; the aged Hugo de Grandmesnil, once acting by the Conqueror's appointment as Regent of the kingdom, and who survived this conflict to aid, when sheltered in the cloister, in furnishing the sources of the history we are now relating; Robert de Telliolo, the savage and ferocious Lord Marcher of Rhuddlan and Flint, he owed fealty to the Earl of Chester, who continued true, but was detached equally from his Lord and from the King's party by his connexion with Grandmesnil; Bernard de Neumarche, afterwards the conqueror of Brecknock; Roger Bygod, perhaps the son of Ralph, and who had certainly succeeded to his authority, but genealogists with rare sobriety have not attempted to determine their affinity: above all, Mowbray and Montgomery.

Outbreak of the conspiracy. 1088, March, April.

They finally settled their plans of attack and co-operation during Lent. At Easter, Rufus held his court as usual at Westminster, but scant was the appearance of liegemen: their benches were empty in the hall—they had withdrawn from their Sovereign's presence, preparing themselves for hostility; and the civil war broke out simultaneously in the north, the eastern shires, the British Marches, and the south-east quarters of the kingdom. The embarrassments of Rufus at this juncture were much increased by the sudden

alienation of William de St. Carileph, hitherto his faithful friend and counsellor. The dispute arose out of a distraint or seizure made upon the Bishop's land by the royal officers: the particulars of this transaction, which possess great constitutional interest, cannot here find a place. 1087—8

Alienation of William de St. Carileph.

As elucidating the future conduct of Rufus towards the Hierarchy, it must be remarked that the main point at issue was, whether the Bishop could be legally compelled to appear and plead in the lay-court, upon the prosecution of the King. It might have been expected, that, at such a juncture, Rufus would have postponed any adverse discussion with the great Palatine-Bishop, who, by uniting his power to the Mowbray, could do him so much harm. No—not he—not even the pressure of extreme danger would induce him to tolerate any departure from his prerogative: a prerogative possibly lawful, but liable to extreme abuse. The King was judge in his court whenever he chose. The security of securities, the doctrine that the King had irrevocably delegated his judicial authority to the ermine on the bench, required centuries ere it could be perfected. The mind and pen of Coke were required to complete that, the greatest safeguard of liberty. Let the reader treasure carefully this in his mind, and recollect that when, in Anglo-Norman times, you speak of the "King's Court," it is only a phrase for the King's despotism.

1087—8 One quarrel bred another. It was reported and believed that St. Carileph also joined the revolters; a fact which he, however, afterwards emphatically denied. His old acquaintance and friendship with Odo may have prompted the suspicion, and the conduct of his retainers apparently confirmed it. A great feud certainly existed between them and fierce Paynell, who acted for the King in Northumbria; yet how could he restrain them? Roger Bygod, who was stigmatized, or perhaps admired, as excelling all others in evil, struck the first blow by forcibly seizing Norwich Castle, then almost a city, which, from its white shining walls, or perhaps from older traditions, had acquired the name of Blanchefleur, from whence he wasted the adjoining country.

East Anglia.

Northumbria rose at the instigation of the Bishop of Coutances and his nephew, Mowbray, who at the same time prepared for further operations, in the south-western districts of the island. It was said that William de St. Carileph also aided them. There was another great field of stiff contention in Mercia, particularly in the British Marches, and the adjoining parts. These were in great measure under the power of Roger de Montgomery, who expected the event which shortly after took place, the arrival in England of his son Belesme. Bernard de Neumarche, uniting his force to Roger de Lacy,

Northumbria.

Lord of Ewias, overspread Herefordshire. The open country of Gloucestershire was ravaged by William of Eu. The Counts of Eu, that ancient, prosperous, illegitimate branch of the house of Rollo, always bore a grudge against the Conqueror. Bishop Godfrey and Robert Mowbray, marching downwards from the North country, plundered Bristol and Bath, extending their ravages as far as the great Honour of Berkeley. But the most formidable attack was made upon Worcester. Bishop Wulstan being peculiarly obnoxious on account of the support he rendered to the King, this city was fiercely besieged by Montgomery, and by Ralph Mortimer. Englishmen, Normans, even Welshmen, the latter partly Anglicized by their long connexion with the Saxon, composed the assailant forces, the mixed population of the turbulent March-lands, which had in a measure become emancipated from royal authority. These marauders threatened Worcester, not only with ravage, but with destruction. Griffith ap Conan, prince of Deheubarth, or North Wales, he who first taught the Cymri to strike the Irish harp, he whose true history reads as a varied romance, gladly joined in the fray; but he fought for himself and his own people. Saxon and Frenchman, and Saxonized Welshman, were equally Griffith's enemies.

1087—8

Mercia and the Marches invaded by English, French, and Welshmen.

Griffith ap Conan.

Besides the Earl of Chester, there were very few in the West who could support the cause

1087—8 of Rufus by stimulating the people. Robert of Lorraine, Bishop of Hereford, so well known as the prime astrologer and mathematician of his age, was appalled and inert. Not so Wulstan, the old English Bishop of Worcester, senior of the episcopal bench: he exhorted the people, the English people, to defend the King's cause and their own. At the request of the Normans, the Bishop, instead of retreating from the strife, continued in the castle, the more to influence and encourage the defenders, urging, as their Pastor, the performance of their duty, and giving them his blessing. Garrison, citizens, and Wulstan's retainers, all immediately prepared for the fight: defying the revolters, they crossed the Severn, and completely defeated them.

Kent. But the main struggle was to take place in Kent, Odo's palatinate Earldom, where he possessed a very great, though not undivided influence. Kent and Sussex once gained, these Counties would become, as the Conqueror intended them to be, outworks of Normandy, into which the Norman forces might pour for invasion. Here the chief leaders were the Bishop, Eustace of Boulogne, and Robert de Belesme, who had arrived with considerable reinforcements. Their first muster was held at Rochester. Situated in the heart of Odo's earldom, this position enabled him to keep up the communication with Normandy, and to bring the war home to the

King's very door. From Rochester, so recently strengthened by and for the Conqueror, the insurgents plundered Canterbury, instigated equally by dislike to the Archbishop, and enmity against the King. The neighbourhood of London was spoiled: the portion wasted (probably the borough of Southwark) belonged to the citizens; an unwise measure, for it irritated a powerful community, without helping Robert's cause. 1087–8

Robert's party, moreover, wanted the personal support of royalty: his adherents fruitlessly exhorted him to come over, and take the command. Crown and kingdom, the right of the first-born, were now in his power. The Norman Duke received the intelligence with joy and exultation, triumphing in the success obtained by his adherents, as though the victory were secured; but unable to wrench himself from his enjoyments. Robert's inactivity.

§ 13. Not so his energetic brother: whatever forces Rufus could muster, he brought together in London. Had it not been for the aid and counsel received from Lanfranc, the result would have been exceedingly dubious;—but the Archbishop sustained the venal loyalty of the few Normans who still adhered to the King, and roused the English to defend their crowned and anointed Sovereign. The natural-born chieftains of the English had been almost wholly swept away; the unprotected people transferred their affection to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Energy of Rufus—supported by Lanfranc.

1087–8 head of the national Church, and therefore of the English people; Church and people, people and Church, were one.

Thus supported, the Conqueror's son threw himself upon the assistance of the race whom his father had humiliated and despoiled. He issued his writs, directed only to the native English, putting the Normans wholly by. He addressed the English as his defenders against Norman treason, claiming their aid in his urgent need. The best men in England were those whom he courted, the best men in England were those whom he summoned, promising them deliverance from the consequences of the hard subjugation they had sustained. It should seem that the citizens of London appeared by twelve representatives. We have nothing but hints. All is seen, as it was done, in hurry and confusion. Three were the promises which Rufus again made—first, he would refrain from all unjust taxation—secondly, every man should enjoy his own hunts and chases in his own woods and wolds—thirdly, and lastly, was the declaration, perhaps too sweeping, that all abuses introduced under the new dynasty should be utterly abolished.—This most important covenant, this appeal to the Commons, is described without emphasis and without remark, in the succinct and obscure narratives of the chroniclers. They were too near, to comprehend the full import of these three

English summoned to a great council.

Promises made by Rufus—afterwards developed in Magna Charta.

sentences. Words thus spoken to a people are rarely idle, however insincere the speaker may be. The developement of the three promises will begin under Henry Beauclerc, and receive further expansion upon Runnymede. This transaction flits and flees before us like a shadow, and disappears like a shadow; but, to borrow a simile from a sign and wonder of our times, it was daguerreotyped upon the public mind, and became visible in all its brightness when Archbishop Hubert penned Chartâ de Foresta and Magna Charta. 1087—8

Moreover, during these proceedings, Norman Rufus used the English speech, the better to personate the character of an English King, warning the English not to incur the foul shame of becoming *Nithings*, a term scarcely susceptible of interpretation. Learned glossographers have puzzled to discover the why and the wherefore this term "*Nithing*" was so opprobrious. One seeks the derivation from "*nidus et pullus, sed quœre,*" and so on. It is no discredit to have failed: the pith and force of popular language can rarely be read out of a grammar, or picked out of a lexicon, any more than you can acquire the accent by looking at the words. Imagine a Gottingen professor trying to make out the meaning of *Radical* by comparing the English-Latin part of Entick with Todd's Johnson, or young Italy at Bologna giving the explanation of *Loco-foco* The Nithing reproach.

1087—8 from Baretti. Such things have been done; but be this as it may, to be called a "*Nithing*" was the greatest ignominy an Englishman could receive.

Able management of Rufus.

§ 14. Rufus possessed all the advantages of youth and expectation. At this juncture also, his peril excited sympathy: the English poured out to the assistance of their Lord. They were egged on by a revival of national feeling, they were called upon to punish the conquering race, to wreak their King's vengeance upon their own oppressors. Thirty thousand Englishmen, as they reckoned, came forward, eager in spirit, clamouring for battle, urging Rufus to chastise the traitors, without respect of persons, and encouraging him to assert his rights. Let him search the histories of England, said they: there will he find that Englishmen are ever faithful to their King. Had Rufus read the English chronicles, he might have doubted the assertion; however, he fully availed himself of this transient burst of the English enthusiasm.

Rufus detaches Montgomery from Robert's party.

But the Normans also required to be dealt with. Discreet management enabled him to detach Montgomery from the Norman party. Rufus sought an interview with the great Earl, spoke to him cheerfully and confidentially. Clever statesman as he was, he did not direct the speech merely to the individual whom he addressed: it was a confidence intended for publicity. "Why are ye so discontented?" said

he, "need ye more lands? Ye shall have them."—He concluded by reminding the Earl that King and Barons held by one title: if they disregarded the appointment which William the Conqueror had made of the royal dignity in England, were his grants of their English possessions more secure? 1087—8

At the same time that Rufus thus laboured to pacify his opponents in England, he was working upon Robert's easy temper. Messengers were despatched, bearing courteous communications, telling him that Rufus never intended to wrong his elder brother. If he accepted the crown, it was because the offer had been made during Robert's absence, by the baronage. He was now ready to declare that if he reigned in England it should be only as vassal, or sub-regulus, beneath the supremacy of the worthier heir. A yearly tribute, say three thousand marks, should testify his dependence, and upon the death of either brother, the survivor should take the Conqueror's whole inheritance. Specious proposals, little worthy of trust, nevertheless they confirmed Robert in his apathy. He continued merrily in Normandy, whilst his partizans were eagerly, anxiously, awaiting him in England. They had staked their fortunes on his cause, perhaps their lives. Rufus deals with Robert.

Amongst the opponents of Rufus there was no flinching from any measure which could en-

1087—8 sure full success. Should Rufus be taken alive, they would surrender the prisoner to Robert, and Robert might deal with him as he chose. Otherwise, he might be slain. Whenever Subjects bring themselves calmly to contemplate the alternative of detaining a dethroned Monarch in captivity, or depriving him of life, the latter, the safer course, will usually be preferred. In organizing this enterprize, the Barons acted openly and avowedly for their own interest; and their only motive of preference for Robert was the benefit which they should receive by preserving the integrity of the State,—England and Normandy united into one dominion, under one Monarch, and he an easy and manageable King.

The partizans of Robert contemplate the death of Rufus.

From the beginning to the end, the movement was entirely Norman, and it was this circumstance, apparently so disadvantageous to Rufus, which enabled him to defeat the rebellion. Englishmen, with scorn, called the insurgents the richest Frenchmen; rich being used in its primitive sense of power, perhaps inseparable from its secondary and now alone familiar meaning. It may be doubted indeed, whether there ever was an aristocracy, in the proper sense, unless united to wealth; but neither wealth nor lineage at this period imparted any consistent principle of truth, honour, or loyalty. Though we may quote bright and noble exceptions, yet none were more destitute of truth, honour, or loyalty,

than the classes, who, according to the conventional phrases of history—phrases so teeming with false teaching, because, founded upon gratuitous assumptions, their repetition gives them the aspect of incontestible facts—would be termed the chivalrous baronage. 1087—8

§ 15. Odo established himself with a large body of troops in Rochester, much encouraged by the presence of Belesme and his companions. Rufus began cautiously: he refrained from attacking the city, and led his forces to Tunbridge, held by Gilbert Fitz-Richard. The castle-garrison speedily capitulated. In the meanwhile, Odo, leaving very sufficient forces in Rochester, such as would fully counterbalance any power Rufus could bring, occupied Pevensey. He had good reasons to make this movement, though it was unsuccessful: he was followed by Rufus, and, after sustaining six weeks' siege, he became so straitened that he was compelled to surrender, engaging also that he would cause Rochester to be given up, and that he would then quit England. For the fulfilment of this promise, Odo was escorted by a small body of the king's soldiers, to the walls. Embrazures and battlements were manned by the garrison, officered by the flower of England and Normandy. The King's detachment approached in full confidence, calling out to those within, Open the gates; for such, said they, is the will of the King who is absent, and

Prosecution of the war against Robert's partizans by Rufus in person.

1087—8 of the Bishop, your Earl, whom you see present here. The Bishop was present; he spake not, but his expressive countenance told a great deal. The garrison fully understood his silence. The gates suddenly open, the armed cavalry scour out, the troops of Rufus are brought in as prisoners, and Odo, as in triumph, resumes the command. He and the other Chieftains, zealous and rancorous, determined to defend the city to the utmost.

Further reinforcements from Normandy were expected by Odo: therefore had he taken his station in Pevensey; but none arrived. Robert, however, in this instance, had not been entirely neglectful of his promise. Some forces had been sent over; but the Englishmen, most probably the sailors of the Cinque Ports, faithfully serving Rufus, guarded the sea. They knew their element, and the winds assisted in dispersing the Norman armament. Many of the men were slain, more were drowned; the warfare was inflamed by national antipathy. The Normans threw themselves into the sea, rather than be shamed by surrendering to an English enemy. This was our first victory gained on the high seas, against the people of the French tongue. The pre-eminence in naval warfare which, had the English been enabled to use it on Harold's behalf, might have repulsed the Conqueror, was employed in defending the right of the Conqueror's child.

§ 16. Rufus again renewed his general summons to his English Lieges. From within burgh and from without, from town and from upland, they were called—they most readily answered to the call. Rochester was closely invested: the noble dungeon keep, erected by Gundulph for the defence of the royal power, now became a stronghold against the Conqueror's appointed heir. The royal army was deficient in artillery: they did not venture to storm the city; and the siege was turned into a strict blockade. The garrison soon began to suffer severely: the weather was unusually sultry; contagious disease spread rapidly, engendered by the filth and corruption of the crowded multitude—man and beast equally contributing to the infection. Over and above the sickness, and evidently occasioned by the same cause, an intolerable plague of flies broke out. Odo and his companions, who defied the ordinary hardships and perils of war, were entirely subdued by this last visitation, one of the many which humiliate all human skill and wisdom.

1087—8

Further successful operations of Rufus.

Siege of Rochester.

They proposed a surrender; yet they were bold and confident in their asking. They were willing to accept peace upon their own terms. Let their English lands, honours, and possessions, be confirmed to them, and then they would become the King's homagers. Rufus was exceedingly incensed by this demand. He would shew

Negotiations for the surrender of Rochester.

1087—8 no mercy to such traitors: they should expiate their guilt with their lives; he would hang them all. He spoke in right earnest. Left to himself, the threat would have been fulfilled. The Barons who headed the royal army, however, now interceded earnestly on behalf of the offenders. They did not like such an example. Could they feel otherwise?—the revolters were their own friends, some their own retainers, their own relatives, others their own lords. Moreover, such rigid severity would have been an awkward precedent, coming too near home. How long might it be before they themselves should fall in the like danger of the law?—a motive always exciting wide and deep sympathy for political offenders. Furthermore, they urged the claims of Odo's near kindred; his sacerdotal character—he was a Bishop—the old connexion with the House of Boulogne—the impolicy of driving the Belesme family to despair, they who held so large a portion of Normandy in their power.

Mediation of the Baronage.

§ 17. Influenced by these arguments rather than by any touch of compassion, Rufus consented that the besieged should depart safe in life and limb;—the latter a real mercy, as ensuring them against the mutilations so often inflicted upon the vanquished. But he imposed the hard condition that they should forfeit all the possessions which had incited their rebellion, and abjure the country. Odo's spirit could not

Complete subjugation and expulsion of Robert's party.

submit willingly to disgrace: he earnestly supplicated that he might not be vilified and degraded when he evacuated the city; and that the trumpets of the conquering army, as he came forth, might not be sounded in triumph. "Not for a thousand marks of gold," exclaimed Rufus, "will I excuse him." 1087—8 Odo's contumely.

When Odo, whom the English called Judas, passed beneath the portal, trumpets announced the victory; but the shrill blasts were almost overpowered by the louder shouts and outcries of the English soldiery. "The halter, the halter! —to the gallows, to the gallows!" exclaimed they. The foulest calumnies and execrations were heaped and bestowed upon him by the multitude. Thus did Odo of Bayeux, the brother of the Conqueror, he by whose prowess the tide of battle had been turned at Hastings, depart for ever from the land he had afflicted. His vast possessions, his palatine-earldom, his widely-extended manors, all the riches he had acquired, were seized by the King. Odo's followers and Robert's adherents were, in like manner, deprived of their possessions: "the Frenchmen abandoned their lands," said the exulting Englishmen, "and fared over the sea."

This was the first of the convulsions which displaced the Norman baronage; but, far more efficient than any catastrophe, was the slow and silent operation of other judgments, uniformly working against them, whose consummation was Displacement and ultimate decay and extinction of the Norman Baronage.

1087–8 to be disclosed in future times. In the reign of Charles I., a Dugdale, contemplating the dimmed magnificence and grandeur of England's ancient and noble families, was compelled to close his Baronage with mournfulness and submission: reading therein the lessons taught by shield and surcoat, helmet and crest—the shortness, the uncertainty, and the transiency of that earthly grandeur, which it was his duty and also his delight to record. For of the two hundred and seventy noble families who acquired their possessions by spoiling England, whose lineages and actions fill the folio, only eight continued subsisting in Dugdale's day, and none amongst them whose estates had not been exceedingly diminished. In this first expulsion of the Norman conquerors, effected by the conquerors themselves, we discern the commencement of the retributive sentence, doomed to waste them away.

Many of Robert's adherents, who had not been so actively engaged as the Rochester garrison, quitted England quietly. It was very important for Rufus to rid himself of the Bishop of Durham, possessed of so commanding a territory, in restless Northumbria: the strength of Durham Castle and the sanctity of Saint Cuthbert's Shrine, might have rendered William de St. Carileph a dangerous enemy.

Rufus continued to assail the Bishop by proceedings in his Supreme court, legally in the first

instance (at least they were sanctioned by Lanfranc), but oppressively, the main point at issue—whether he, as Bishop, might demur to the lay jurisdiction, being mixed up with accusations of treason. Partly by force, and partly by compromise, Rufus gained possession of Durham castle; until the Bishop, worried and annoyed, sought and obtained permission to exile himself from England, and found refuge in Normandy—time well employed for us, as he there obtained the plan of the magnificent cathedral now towering on the Wear's rocky banks, and which he began to erect, when, after three years' banishment, he was permitted to return. 1087–8

Rufus did not press severely upon any except those who had been actually taken in arms. He well knew who were unsound, but he spared the older Barons; they had been his father's friends, his policy taught him to respect their old age, and he honoured his father's memory. He trusted to the great peacemaker, the Angel of Death: he knew they could not live much longer to trouble him or themselves. Others laboured to gain his confidence by ostentatious loyalty—some were closely watched. None excited more suspicion than the Mowbray on this side of the channel, and William of Eu on the other; whilst Rufus, hunting the hare in the chariot drawn by oxen, waited patiently till he could wreak his vengeance.

Chapter II.

FLAMBARD'S ADMINISTRATION, AND THE SCHEME FOR THE GENERAL SECULARIZATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

1089—1100.

1089—1100 Lanfranc's death.

§ 1. Robert's partizans being thus expelled, a year of political tranquillity ensued; but not a happy or a restful year: a year of terror, a year of trouble. Earthquakes throughout England, storms, blights, murrain; corn laid by the driving showers; the pallid ear, sodden by wet, heavy with damp, bearing down the flaccid straw. Sunless harvest time brought within sight of mournful Yule tide. Crops unreaped till after dank Martinmas, far on, in foggy November; when coming Christmas is talked of, and the beeves and swine slaughtered and salted for winter's store.

28 May, 1089.

But the great sorrow of the year was Lanfranc's death. On the morrow of Venerable Bede's commemoration Lanfranc departed. His body was deposited in the Basilica he had begun to raise, the noble structure planned, as they were wont to plan, in Imperial Christian Rome. Lanfranc's obit was long marked in Christ Church, Canterbury, as a day of holy joy, when in the choir, ascending in triple grade, the altar blazed with light, surrounded by the Ministers whose white garments were tokens to eye and mind·

that their mourning was a thankful triumph, whilst the roof resounded with the hymn appropriated to the memory of the Pastor gathered to his rest. 1089—1100

But when that same day, the tenth Kalends of June, arose in the year one thousand and eighty-nine, the prevailing feeling was not devotional remembrance, but the sharp pang of natural sorrow. Lanfranc's death was mourned as the heaviest loss which could befal England. Lanfranc had been placed over the British Churches, an alien, yet he lived to become the protector of the English people. Strange in blood to the Norman, strange in blood to the Englishman, both now loved him as their kinsman: his station and disposition combined to render him the mediator between the conquerors and the subjugated. It was an apparent, but by no means a real contradiction in the Red King's character, that if he submitted to be directed, whether for good or evil, he obeyed readily. In the one case, his strong good sense, when his mind was undisturbed, enabled him to contend against his natural inclination. In the other, that same natural inclination stimulated him to drive onward with the grateful adviser. So long as Lanfranc lived, Rufus had, in all open and public affairs, been substantially guided by his counsel. Bickerings there might be between the Archbishop and the King: sharp retorts from the quick and witty

1089—1100 Sovereign, but no coolness. His proud and angry temper, though not completely restrained, was mitigated and sweetened by Lanfranc's kindly intervention. To the last, the Archbishop retained the bland, senatorial elegance and courtesy of Pavia.

Rufus had been endued with noble qualities. His filial obedience affords evidence of a virtuous germ. Hitherto constrained by difficulties, his conduct towards his subjects was so moderated and guarded, that, as kings are used to be, England had good reason to be content. But the difficulties being subdued, Lanfranc's death released him from all controul; and he settled into a course of unremitted oppression, the more grievous, because, excepting when his mind was under paroxysmal excitement, his schemes of action were able, clever, and carefully destined for a definite end.

Ralph Flambard, afterwards Bishop of Durham. His origin and character.

§ 2. The history of Ministers, employing the appellation in its most extended sense, from Tristan l'Hermite with his halter, to Talleyrand, is an integral chapter in the history of monarchs. It cannot be otherwise: the strongest arm needs a weapon; the ablest hand, a working-tool. Ralph, the future Bishop of Durham and Premier, was born in mean estate. This circumstance, the truest temporal honour of the Christian Hierarchy, has always been so common, that had he not provoked popular rancour by his subsequent

conduct, it would have been passed over almost 1089—1100
without observation, and certainly without injurious comment: the aristocratic pride of blood, as yet unnursed by badges and banners, was then only a subordinate element in general mediæval feeling. But, when powerful and prosperous, his diligent, and therefore most unpopular administration, induced the world to exaggerate the ill fame of his ancestry.

He came from Bayeux, now thoroughly a Romane city. The old Danske was wholly forgotten there, and the Teutonic lineages quite gallicised. Nevertheless the name of Ralph's father bears an Anglo-Danish or English sound. There had been a constant give and take between England and Normandy; and Thurstan, for thus was he called, may have crossed the water in Duke Richard's time. This however is mere, and not very important, conjecture. Whether the stories circulated respecting Ralph's parents be true or no, he himself was certainly one of the Normans whom the weakness or liberality of the Confessor encouraged in England. Ranulphus, or Radulphus Flamme, or Flanbard, or Flambart, or Flambard, or Passe-flambard, held, tempore regis Edwardi, a hide of land in Hampshire. Tempore Regis Willielmi, matters altered for the worse. The property was included within the devouring bounds of the New Forest. The Conqueror seized the parcels, and transferred

1089—1100 field and fold to the beasts; so it was gone. Nevertheless Flambard got good compensation: in the last year of King William's reign he appears as a landholder to a decent extent; holding property both *in capite*, and as an under tenant; amongst other hereditaments, a mansion in Oxford. He was a Burgher and a Minor Baron as well as a Vavassor. If we choose to fill up the void, between Domesday and the recollections of Durham and Saint Evroul's monasteries, we might represent him, when the forest officers seized his land, repairing in suppliant guise to the Conqueror, addressing the King in good Norman French, and complaining what a hard case it was, that he, a Norman by birth, a Norman of Bayeux, should thus be ejected. Yet, not whining dolefully, but speaking cheerfully, and as if unwilling to grieve about the matter, and thus winning the Royal favour. Many a long historical yarn of good repute, has been spun out of a tow far slighter; Flambard's biography comes off very clear, and there is no real difficulty, except as to the order in which the various incidents of his eventful life succeeded.

Flambard passes into the Royal service.

Taking the arrangement which seems most probable, we trace him from Oxford—for this place must be considered as his domicile—to the service of the Bishop of London, Bishop Maurice the Chancellor; but whether officially, or as a domestic chaplain, does not clearly appear. A dispute arose between the Bishop

and Flambard: the latter wanted a Deanery, 1089—1100
but could not get it. The failure seems to indicate that he was not regularly upon the Chancery establishment. He then passed into the Royal service as a Clericus. An exact chronology of Flambard's passages is impracticable: but it is certain that he was speedily stationed in a very important branch of the royal household—the King's kitchen—the earliest Clerk of the Kitchen upon record. Employment in this department led to good preferment. We shall live (in this our history) to see many similar chances and changes: Roger, the King's Larderer, appointed Bishop of Hereford, and Robert, the King's Chaplain in the chapel, and Clerk in the King's pantry, Bishop of Coventry.

Flambard, Clerk of the Kitchen.

In this region Flambard continued for a time, ruling over cooks and varlets, coquins and scullions, and other such like retainers of the Court, until he worked his way onward from the royal kitchen to the royal hall. Clever, but full of malice, both in the English and French signification, he became a Puck, a Robin Goodfellow, setting all the establishment together by the ears. Hence Robert Le Despenser called him the Firebrand, or "Le Flambard," the name, together with other analogous appellations, given to him by prolepsis in Domesday, and which never afterwards departed from him. Flambard he became a Bishop, Flambard in power, Flambard in disgrace,

Origin of Flambard's by-name.

1089–1100 Flambard expelled, Flambard restored, and Flambard he died.

Flambard a Clerk of the Chancery.

Hence to the Chapel: a Clericus in the King's Chancery, drawing and engrossing, folding and sealing Writs and Charters; the King's man of business, handsome, but somewhat profligate, full of resource and adaptation, recommending himself to notice, and still more to social popularity, by those talents which are hated and encouraged —the ready gibe, the satirical jeer. He advanced faster and faster. Ralph the Publican, the chief of Publicans, possessed, as the epithet given to him by a great Prelate denotes, a consummate talent for finance. He was confidentially employed in fiscal service by the Conqueror. Flambard must have been known to be very able and very firm, for William despatched him to the Bishoprick of Durham, afterwards his own: where he raised a large sum for the King. It was said also that the tax was illegal, and Northumbria was peculiarly sensitive to any invasion of her privileges. However, he was entirely successful.

Flambard gains the confidence of Rufus, and becomes his Prime Minister.

§ 3. A new reign furnished a more congenial patron. The Conqueror found Flambard useful, but he did not absolutely need the man to carry out his policy, and there was scarcely any affinity between their characters. Not so Rufus: he and Flambard matched. They coalesced by mutual attraction; and as soon as Lanfranc died, Flam-

bard, though still ostensibly in a subordinate position, expanded rapidly into permanent influence and power. 1089—1100

During the early part of this reign, Robert Bloet, the King's half uncle, continued to act as Chancellor. He always retained the favour of his royal kinsman; an able and efficient man, with no peculiar vice, but who did not possess any principle inducing him to become disagreeable to the King. Bloet, though long in the Chapel, had not yet obtained a Bishoprick, and his son Simon, a Clerk in minor orders, was yet rather too young to look for ecclesiastical preferment. In the Chancery Flambard had companions destined to eminence; men of fame and name, in hierarchical annals. Gerard, sometimes designated as Chancellor, probably introduced by his uncle Walkeline, Bishop of Winchester, and therefore connected with the Royal family; William Warlewast, called the King's cousin through his mother; William Gifford, a kinsman of the Earl of Buckingham, who occasionally acted as Chancellor; possibly also Galdric or Baldrick, the tonsured clerk who fought for Henry Beauclerk in the fatal battle of Tenchebrai, and was promoted, as some say, to Landaff, but more probably to Laon. So much for Flambard's superiors or associates; but, whether placed higher or lower, whether sitting on the upper form or the under form, he was known to be the King's own Cle-

Flambard a clerk of the Chancery. The Chancery establishment.

1089—1100 ricus, really preeminent amongst them all; bearing messages, serving process, levying distresses, making seizures—doing anything which could be required. Division of labour, in all cases, the purchase of precision at the expence of vigour, was not much practised; and what now are called, feelings of delicacy, were scarcely known.

Flambard appointed "Procurator totius Regni."

He seems to have continued in this position, until Bloet's removal from office. Employments and royal favours then accumulated upon him. He is designated as *Procurator totius regni;* a title not constitutionally known, but evidently implying that he was perpetual Justiciar. Higher he could not rise, inasmuch as, by virtue of this office, he became Regent whenever the Sovereign was absent from the kingdom; and also the King's Lieutenant wherever the Sovereign was not present actually and personally, his Commission superseding all other jurisdictions. There were some curious vestiges of this regal power inherent in the Court of King's Bench, presided by the Chief Justice of all England, which continued until they were abolished by Statute, inasmuch as they occasionally caused practical inconveniences.

Flambard appears sometimes also as Treasurer, sometimes as Chancellor: the fact is, that, like the King whom he represented, he could sit in any court, and act in any department. Occasionally, colleagues were assigned to him;

but, nevertheless, so long as Rufus lived, Flambard was Prime Minister, favourite and adviser; invested with almost royal authority. 1089–1100

§ 4. A memorable financial operation suggested by Flambard, requires detail, being intimately connected with mediæval policy in various bearings: and well illustrated also, by comparison with the economy of later periods. When the Land-tax, already suggested under the Commonwealth, received its present apportionment and mode of collection, about four years after the Revolution, the Statute directed an "assessment" of all real property, "according to the full and true yearly value thereof;" and this valuation was assumed to be the permanent basis of the rate. Whether this Land-tax was higher or lower, it was so much in the pound, as the pound had been rated under William of Nassau. The assessment was sufficiently "full;" but, on the face of the Commissioners' books, it offers many remarkable inequalities, so as to raise doubts whether it equally complied with the Parliamentary injunction of being "true." Political sentiments are supposed to have possessed some influence. A staunch supporter of the Protestant succession had the agreeable mortification of finding himself a great deal poorer than his neighbour the Tory squire, the advocate of hereditary right. A surcharge, it is believed, might be reduced ten per cent. by whistling Lillabulero; and the Papist's

Flambard's encrease of the Danegelt and other taxes.

Illustrated by the Land-tax Assessments.

1089—1100 double poundage was doubled again if it had been surmised that information might be obtained that the tormented Recusant had been heard to hum "Confound their politicks, Frustrate their knavish tricks," though he had not completed the stanza. However, allowing for these accidents, the general principle of the assessment was unquestionably the land's annual value at a rack-rent, and no other: and this principle continued, and continues, unaltered. Whatever improvements may have been subsequently made in the land's value, the Land-tax scale does not go to slide. This revolution tax, renewed annually, without intermission, by Parliament, so as to become virtually a permanent branch of the Crown revenue, and reckoned as such by Blackstone; was ultimately legalized as a perpetual tax by Flambard's successor, William Pitt. Still the Land-tax always continued to be rated and levied, and still is rated, levied, or commuted, according to the "full and true annual value" assessed and settled when the Oxford coach took six days to complete its journey outward and homeward, and you examined the priming of your pistols when you had passed Saint Giles his pound, the Oxford road, (or rather the series of ruts and sloughs bounded by tall dark hedges, and so called,) being much infested by highwaymen towards nightfall. Hence the great discrepancies between the present value of landed property

and the Land-tax. Carlton Terrace pays and redeems at the same standard as though the decoy ducks still winged their flapping flight in the Park. Belgravia not a penny more or less than during her eocene era, when her gay precinct constituted the dismal swamp of Chelsea fields. 1089—1100

That a contribution to the public necessities, not regulated, as it promises and professes to be, by the true value of the taxed article, is theoretically unfair, cannot be doubted. But even before the Land-tax had been rendered permanent, property was held, and bought, and sold, upon the understanding that the original assessment should continue unchangeable. Therefore it would have been construed as a breach of public faith, had a new assessment been made; and, though occasionally suggested, any increase of the Land-tax, as a distinct territorial Government impost, is admitted to be quite out of the question.

A celebrated item in Flambard's budget of Ways and Means, his new assessment of the Danegelt, or tax of six shillings upon each hyde of land, so recently settled by Domesday, was more than equivalent to such an hypothetical re-assessment and surcharge of the Land-tax—more than equivalent,—because more searching, and also giving the Crown a despotic hold upon the rights of property. The scheme was ably effected by Flambard; not by raising the nominal

Flambard makes a new assessment upon a new principle.

1089—1100

money-tax, for the geld was still no more than six shillings per hyde, but by enlarging the quantity of taxable land.

Ancient measurements of land calculated by productive extent.

The Domesday commissioners accepted without hesitation, as the materials of their survey, the sworn returns or presentments made by the Jurors of the Hundreds and Burghs, or other Sokes or Leets, whomsoever they might be. Together with the new Norman landlords, old Englishmen, real Englishmen, churls and villeins, constituted the largest numerical proportion of these Juries. But whether Norman or Englishman swore, they concurred in defending their land against the demands of the Crown upon one and the same principle. It was a cause in which all were united. They proceeded according to the custom of the country, and as Englishmen were used to do in the old time; they could nor would innovate. According to this English custom, land was measured by a compromise between superficial extent and productive value. Instead of trundling the theodolite, they yoked the oxen and sped the plough. Thus, the carucate consisted of so much land as the ploughshare could furrow in the course of the season; the half-drowned plashes which sunk beneath the tread, or the soil studded with jutting rocks, where the husbandman could not turn up the glebe, were no portion of the plough-land. The bents and sedges where the ox could not feed were

Land so measured by the Domesday Comissioners.

excluded from the ox-gang. The ridges and balks over which the scythe could not mow the grass, were not reckoned in the "day-math:" and, generally speaking, no land uncultivated at the time of the Domesday survey, was included in the calculation of the hydes. Hence, the very unequal admeasurements of the plough-land, carucate, or hyde, in subsequent times, when by usage it became a regular sum total of acreage; the same denomination of measure, a "hyde land" or its synonyms, being applied to sixty, eighty, an hundred, an hundred and twelve, an hundred and twenty, or an hundred and fifty acres. 1089—1100

Flambard's deeply concerted plan, however, embraced objects far more important than the quantum of Dangeld. He aimed at the substitution of arbitrary authority, in place of the limited monarchy recognized by Domesday. Without any abstract theory of popular representation, Englishmen, by the intervention of the jurors, taxed themselves. If the people were bound by the verdict, so was the King. Flambard made a bold attempt to wrest this privilege from the nation, and to vest an uncontrolled fiscal authority in the Crown.

Flambard causes the measurements to be calculated by superficial extent.

Repudiating any advice or consent of Landlords or Landholders, he caused the land to be remeasured according to the rude Norman practice, by the rope or line, rendering superficial extent alone, the basis of the calculation. The Crown

1089—1100. officers formed a new Cadastre, according to the new principle which he laid down. His surveys were made according to the practice first introduced by the Scandinavians, almost the only tradition of their customs then remaining, but precisely that which was most tyrannical. The land was therefore meted according to an invariable geometrical standard, without any reference to its productive worth; and this introduction of a new standard acted in every way to the prejudice of the Landholders.

Encrease of acreage. The first result exhibited, of course, a far larger acreage than the Domesday survey; and the tax accrued accordingly. The mere surcharge, however, was the least odious feature in the transaction. Much might be said, and probably was said, to justify this proceeding; for the principles of business were perfectly well understood. The Domesday Commissioners had in some degree contemplated the possibility of uncultivated land being brought into cultivation, and thus becoming liable to the tax. Nevertheless, there is a natural feeling to rest upon possession; and any disturbance of an established revenue system, in which, from the mode of collection, the subject has enjoyed some advantage, fair or unfair, is sure to produce discontent, however plausible the reasons may be.

Usurpation of forest ground. But in the present case, besides the additional payment, there was another pregnant grievance, the wide-spreading usurpation of hunting and

sporting ground, hitherto spared for the sustenance, and still more, the recreation of the people. All the promises given by Rufus for redressing the abuses of the Forest, were violated as soon as the rebellion of the Norman party had been quelled. The linear measurements afforded the utmost facilities for absorbing such of the subjects' woods and chases as were in and about the Royal purlieus. This was particularly the case with the fated Giant's Weald: the ambit of the unhappy New Forest was widely extended by Rufus, who accumulated upon his own head the curses of his Father's acts and his own. Rufus was absolutely fanatic as a huntsman: he inflicted the heaviest punishments, perpetual imprisonments, horrible mutilation, death, for the slightest trespass against his delights. He was the raging Wilde Jæger of England. 1089—1100

Lastly, this repartition of taxes, purely by royal authority, would, if it had continued, have subverted all the constitutional principles of administration, and placed all the property, and through the property, the person of the subject, entirely in the King's power. Subversion of the principles of taxation.

Flambard bore all the odium attached to the financial department of the government, and he did not shrink from responsibility. He is said to have doubled the amount of the taxes by his unscrupulous rigour. Yet, much as he was vituperated, no accusation of personal corruption

1089—1100 was ever preferred against him. He was entirely devoted to the government, and to the government only, and that government was the King. He threw himself entirely into the mind of Rufus: thought with him, worked with him, and enjoyed carrying out the Sovereign's intentions. As a servant of the Crown he acted with the fearless perverted honesty of ministerial devotion: he cared not whom he offended in the execution of his duty; high or low, his exactions fell equally upon all.

Effects of Flambard's unpopularity.

§ 5. Flambard being thus impartial in enforcing the royal demands upon all classes, so did all classes reward him with equivalent hatred: not in the least mitigated by the full consciousness, which none could resist, of his great capacity and ability. A plot was formed against his life.

Plot against his life.

By a feigned story that Bishop Maurice, his old patron, was dying and wished to see him, he was inveigled on board a vessel lying in the Thames. When the false intelligence was brought to the King's Chancellor, for in this capacity Flambard was now acting, he immediately embarked, probably at the old Bridge, or Landing-place of the Palace, not unfrequently mentioned in State Papers and correspondence of the Tudor and Stuart era, only very recently obliterated by the embankment, for it stood close to the spot where the Clock Tower is rising. And, always faithful to his trust, even during that absence from the

Court, expected to be so short, he took with 1089—1100
him the King's Great Seal. But, soon as the vessel fairly stood out in the stream, Flambard found he was a captive: instead of making for the banks, the boat rowed down to the Nore, and from the Nore unto the open sea. Aware now of his imminent danger, his first thoughts turned to his official charge: he cast the Privy Seal as well as the Great Seal into the water; a curious anticipation of Jefferies. Flambard did so, lest the Seals should be employed in exciting trouble by affixing them to forged documents: a precaution perhaps also shewing, that he suspected some plots against the King. Consultations were held how the victim should be despatched. Some, advised murdering him on board; others, inclined to throw him over. This dispute led to further differences: the intended assassins began to quarrel amongst themselves concerning the spoil, the division of his rich garments, and the valuables he wore about his person. In the mean while, a gale began to blow. Flambard's cheerfulness, his presence of mind, his unshaken courage,—lastly, the storm,—preserved his life. The boat was driven back upon the coast, Flambard and his enemies landed in safety. He returned to the Palace; and, received by Rufus as one restored from the dead, rose higher than ever in royal favour and delegated authority.

1089—1100

After many vicissitudes, Bishop Flambard repented; and, accusing himself bitterly for his misdeeds, ended his days better than Clerk Flambard began. There was always a vein of magnanimity and liberality in his character. Even now, when at his worst, he abstained from inflicting any vengeance upon his dastardly enemies, who are indicated as having been both numerous and powerful; yet he employed precautions which effectually secured him against open attacks or secret perfidy, during the remainder of the reign.

Stories concerning Flambard's parents.

No forecast or wariness, however, could shield Flambard from the pungent shafts of truth feathered by slander. The abuses of Flambard's public conduct may have been in some degree exaggerated; but greater scope was given for invention, in the jocose malignant gossip, engrafted upon an indubitable fact, the meanness of Flambard's family. His father, Thurstan, certainly a priest, a married priest at Bayeux, was stigmatized as a most wretched and dissolute character. Flambard's ugly mother, Thurstan's wife, acquired, growing older and uglier, the reputation of a witch. During the Anglo-Norman era, there was no persecution of witchcraft as such: she was safe from being burnt or swum, though the object of universal detestation and horror. Children, it was reported, used to hie away in the streets for fear, when the fell one-eyed sorceress drew nigh. And how had she lost the

other?—It had been clawed out, in a conflict with the Demon. The poor, vexed carline, attaining extreme old age, lived under Flambard's care, both in adversity and in prosperity; and his filial affection was an additional and unmerited source of further obloquy. 1089—1100

Had our Ordericus of St. Evroul, like his contemporaries at Peterborough, written his history in the vernacular tongue, these precious anecdotes would, perhaps, have appeared in the form of quotations from a popular ballad; they might have ranged with the rhyme-staves upon the death of the Conqueror, which we unravel out of the prose paragraphs in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Nothing is more likely than that the story of Flambard's mother enlivened the chanson of some bullied minstrel, who, jesting in Flambard's presence, had been treated as Flambard in earlier life often deserved to be—cuffed out of the hall. Such effusions have deeply tinctured mediæval history, and like modern political caricatures and squibs, afford lively and valuable information. Kouli Khan, making his triumphal entry upon his elephant into Leadenhall street, adds the finishing touch to Burke's speeches against Charles Fox and the India Bill. Sayers and Gilray, and the artist of the mysterious monogram, will supply to the Hallams and Macaulays of the next age, a perpetual commentary

1089—1100 upon Woodfall and Hansard. Future Mahons may elucidate the despatches of Guizot and Aberdeen by Punch and the Charivari.

The great scheme for the secularization of ecclesiastical property.

§ 6. In the preceding sketch, we have given a general view of Flambard's career. We must now advert to that branch of public policy in which he became most thoroughly, most intimately useful to the King.

Whatever other objects occupied Rufus during his reign, the main one,—and in all probability, however carefully he may have concealed his sentiments during Lanfranc's life, from his first settlement in the kingdom — was the general secularization of ecclesiastical property. This idea became the governing principle of his mind:—all the movements were in harmony with this key-note. Busily engaged in conflicts with his brothers, warring against Scots and Cymri, intensely pursuing personal gratification and voluptuousness, he never allowed himself to be diverted by distraction, employment, pleasure, or exigency, from the purpose of his great scheme. "Priests," said Rufus, "hold half my kingdom." Extravagant as this misstatement was—and he must have known it to be untrue, since he possessed surveys affording that exact and statistical information concerning England, which the archives of no other Sovereign contained—the assertion should not be considered

so much an intentional exaggeration, as the token of an inveterate hostility. Seizures of money and other valuable objects, deposited in churches and monasteries, had been frequently made, but moveable property was soon spent; and therefore the territorial endowment of the Church, out and out, could alone satisfy his desire. The whole he intended to parcel out into Knights' fees, a further propitiation to the military power. 1089—1100.

Proposed conversion of all Church land into Knights' fees.

Some approach to such a utilization of ecclesiastical property, had been effected by the conversion of episcopal and monastic endowments into Baronies; but this very obscure transaction, scarcely known otherwise than by the results, was more vexatious than onerous. The number of Knights' fees for which the prelates became liable, was comparatively inconsiderable and ill-defined. Whenever the Earl Marshal held a muster, there ensued a constant squabble as to the number of men this or that Bishop or Abbot was bound to send: subject to this charge, the revenues belonged to the Church. With respect to other foundations, a large proportion continued to hold their lands as benefices in *franc-almoigne*, rendering prayers and alms. Rufus would fain displace the Hierarchy entirely, and transfer all the permanent possessions of the Church to the laity. Precedents somewhat analogous were not wanting. Carlovin-

1089—1100 gians and Capets, Dukes of France and Counts of Flanders, set the example. Rufus might think he had as good right to the Abbey of Westminster, as Hugh the Great had to be Abbot of Tours, or Arnolph, of St. Bertin. Yet these abusive usurpations of ecclesiastical property were occasional and accidental, and neither implied any hostility to ecclesiastical order, nor resulted from any well-matured design: whereas Rufus proceeded systematically, and upon opinion and principle.

Rufus actuated by consistent principles.

Rufus was an enthusiast, working out the great idea that possessed him; actuated therein by deeper feelings than mere avarice, or even than mere ambition, strange and wild as his visions of power may have been. His conduct differed essentially from that pursued by his father. The Conqueror considered his prerogative over ecclesiastical property, and indeed over the very spirituality of the Church, as paramount; but he acted with the controlled discretion of a cool and tranquil politician. Allowing for circumstances, William the First and William the Third might have counterchanged. His feelings of devotion were tepid, yet religion was by him neither neglected nor despised. Not so his son Rufus. He hated religion. He is the only old English King who never made any pious or charitable foundation worth notice. He bargained and sold with Churchmen, therefore his name appears in charters; for it was not necessary to express the

money-consideration in the grants. Some small donations may have been extorted by a sense of decency, or a momentary half-delirious compunction: but these exhausted his bounty; no consecrated structure, no cathedral or monastery contained within its walls any memorial of Rufus, except the most significant one, to which he came at last—his prayerless tomb. His knowledge, that faith, or any object of faith existed, can be collected only from his oaths and execrations, his scoffs and his jeers. In rejecting the exaggerations of belief, he rejected belief altogether. Somewhat later, flourished the Second Frederick of Hohenstauffen, the imperial sceptic, holding so prominent a station in the annals of free enquiry. The English King's infidelity was of a different kind. He rather resembled the Great Frederick of Prussia, his profanity being encouraged by sarcastic and talented profligacy. Nevertheless Rufus was a splendid monarch: nay, amongst certain classes a popular monarch; many profited by his vices, many admired, all feared him. 1089—1100

"Were we Ethnics, and were it lawful for us to believe in the transmigration of souls," exclaims the adulatory monk of Malmesbury, seeking in Rome's history and Rome's traditions the standard of excellence, "it might be said that the soul of Cæsar passed into the body of Rufus." Rufus was unshaken in his resolves. He proclaimed his opinions, he gloried in his

1089—1100

vices. Rufus just missed the opportunities which would have placed him amongst the world's heroes. He was gifted with consistency—that gift which more than courage, more than acuteness, more than eloquence, more than any other, qualifies a Leader to compel the obedience of mankind.

Outline of the plan proposed by Rufus and Flambard in working out the scheme of secularization.

§ 7. Flambard aiding and counselling, the great design, whatever encouragement and support might be derived from ancient continental examples, was prosecuted with more system, and approached nearer to success than in any other Christian realm. The practice of the English Church, and the prerogatives of William the Conqueror, now and henceforth called the *Consuetudines paternæ* or *Consuetudines avitæ*—we shall hear a great deal more of these *Consuetudines* under Henry Beauclerk and Henry Plantagenet—afforded instrumentality of peculiar power. Had Rufus entertained any misgivings respecting the possibility of his plan, had he doubted that he should ultimately succeed, he would probably have rushed to the full extent in the first instance, endeavouring to avoid any contingent chance of discomfiture by a sudden and violent seizure. He proceeded more slowly, because he believed himself to be sure. He improved every opportunity that offered, whether by exercise of prerogative, or by playing off the personages under his command. Love of lucre, ambition, vice—but most useful of all—timid and complacent

servility, enabled this godless King to neutralize the energies of the Faith which pervaded society. 1089—1100

An Anglo-Norman Sovereign, by virtue of the *Consuetudines*, possessed the uncontrolled authority of appointing Bishops, not promoted upon hypothetical expectations, but men of whom he was already sure, men well broken in to the bit—well disciplined for his service beforehand. The majority were trained in the Chancery, fashioned in the Chancery: all created in the Chancery, and retaining, after their preferment, the obedient habits acquired and taught in the Chancery. When the Great Council assembled, the Chancery Clerks always attended; and their regular attendance has been mistaken for an appearance of the inferior clergy, such as was afterwards required by the famous *Premunientes clause*. In this body of clerks and chaplains originated the select legal Council, which, when our Legislature began to assume its present form, became the directing committee of the High Court of Parliament: the Woolsack, in this respect, may be honoured as coeval with our Constitutional Throne. Old acquaintanceship, official intercourse, community of interest and feeling, amalgamated the Bishops and the Chancery-men into a most influential section of the Legislature: the King, particularly useful to them; they, to the King. Most, or all of the Bishops were or had been Chancellors, Chancery-

Sources of the King's influence over the Bishops.

The connexion between the Bishops and the Chancery.

1089—1100 masters, Chancery-clerks. Most or all of the Chancellors, Chancery-masters, Chancery-clerks, were Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Canons, Prebendaries, Rectors, or multiples thereof: or became so, or wanted to be. This intimate relation between the Prelacy and the Chancery, furnishes the rationale of whole chapters of the Statute Book and the Parliamentary Records. Seen through the mist of historical traditions, the opposition to the Papal claims appears as a glorious struggle for the liberty of the National Church. A more minute investigation of the Close and Patent rolls will reveal the prizes for which the combatants contended. The Provisors and their Papal Bulls attacking the finest and choicest preferment —the Chancellor and the Master of the Rolls endeavouring to scare away the assailants, by waving in their faces the Premunire, the Presentation, and the Great Seal.

Synods of the Clergy prohibited, as well as their exercise of ecclesiastical discipline.

The Bishops, thus influenced and controlled in the Great Council, all ecclesiastical liberty was denied to them elsewhere. The Conqueror prohibited the promulgation of any canon unless with his previous approbation. Rufus wholly prevented the assemblies of the Clergy. Consequently, the Synods, in which the active life of the hierarchy resides, and without which it continues in a convulsive doze, were never held. If, in modern times, Convocation has become a shadow, even that shadow never flitted before

the Church when Rufus reigned. Deprived of power collectively, the Clergy were equally paralyzed individually; no ecclesiastical censure or interdict could be pronounced without the royal fiat. The King kept the Power of the Keys under his own lock and key. Furthermore, by forcing investiture upon them, the persons of the Clergy, deprived of the immunity of their order, were amenable to the King's tribunals, or, in other words, entirely in his power. A Bishop had neither the freedom of a layman, nor the privilege of a clerk. 1089—1100

§ 8. It should seem that William the Conqueror, though he exerted, had not greatly abused the right of investiture, so far as related to the custody of Church temporalties during vacancies. Flambard advised that whenever any avoidance took place, the King should seize the possessions, and hold and treat them entirely as Crown property. Elizabeth made full use of this power; many noble lordships and manors passed from the Mitre to the Queen, or the Queen's favourite, during such a pause. This plainest and easiest mode of pillage, was pursued with unsparing rapacity. Various advantages resulted from the plan. So long as the See continued vacant, all the Church property came under Flambard's management: and his mode of administration is best exemplified by the first and most memorable example, his occupation of the See of Canterbury. Spoliation of the Church during vacancies.

1089—1100

Seizure of the temporalties of Canterbury upon Lanfranc's death.

Rufus and Flambard had, without doubt, been expecting Lanfranc's death. Before the solemn, lengthened, funeral-services were concluded, Flambard, as Custos on the King's behalf, entered the Monastery, and seized all the possessions, archiepiscopal and conventual, into the King's hands. He did his work thoroughly: supported by an armed band, accompanied by a still more formidable array of Chancery-clerks, he invaded the clôture, routed through every chamber, ransacked every repository. The tenants were racked; the conventionary usages infringed, and the gavelkind estates granted out to the King's retainers. The doles distributed by Lanfranc's hands under the arch in the Burgate ceased. The stranger no longer ascended the staircase to enter the hall prepared for his welcome; the almoner desisted from making his rounds amongst the poor, visiting the sick man, and seeking according to Lanfranc's special injunction, — see his Constitutions — to please the distempered palate, when bestowing the needful food. All the internal management and domestic economy of Christ Church was subverted, and the evils aggravated by scorn and rudeness. Such was the condition of every ecclesiastical establishment, grasped by the Crown.

Simoniacal transactions.

§ 9. Whilst these intrusions enriched the Treasury, they also removed many obstacles to the royal power. Under the best possible management, Bishops or Abbots might be troublesome; some

conscientious, and therefore unsubmissive spirit might speak out, nay, act. By diminishing their numbers, Rufus diminished this risk, so that towards the conclusion of his reign, the Bench of Lords spiritual was very scantily filled. Yet it was expedient for him to be prudent in this mode of proceeding. The practice being new, might be carried to such an extent as to occasion comment or discontent. It was, therefore, more advisable for Rufus to follow occasionally in the wake of accustomed usage, and to do wrong in the right way, that is to say, in a manner agreeable to the tone of the world. Consequently he and Flambard sometimes adopted the opposite mode; instead of keeping Bishopries and Abbeys open, they filled them up, selling the preferment for the best price which could be obtained. This plan had many advantages: it was an estoppel to censure. If the See or the Monastery had a Pastor, there was no *primâ facie* grievance, and many Prelates, irregularly and culpably appointed, were nevertheless men of merit and good principle, though vacillating. The transaction was advantageous to both contracting parties, King and Bishop, the turn of the market remaining in the King's favour. It was through Episcopacy, that Rufus could most conveniently manage his exactions, especially upon the inferior Clergy. Rufus and Flambard were, however, like all dealers, compelled to

1089—1100

Advantages resulting from this course.

1089—1100 seek, not only their own profit, but the inclination of the parties with whom they traded. In some cases, the exact particulars of the bargains have been preserved; though instead of a direct contract, they could often act more efficiently by an understanding, even as the advertisement of a next presentation for sale, with a slight hint of an early vacancy, places the comfortable parsonage at the end of a very short vista.

The mere purchase-moneys of the preferments constituted only a small portion of the fiscal profit. To adopt the phrase suggested by an analogous, though distant era, all the Bishops, whether nominated by Rufus or not, were "Tulchan Bishops;" and squeezed, either in proportion to their revenues, or to the bargains they made and drove with the King. The King exacted a rent from every preferment: there was not a single Bishop exempted from this extortion; those who were not appointed by him submitted in order to buy him off. The annual average wrung from each of the superior hierarchy was about three thousand five hundred marks. This amount affords some notion, both of the ecclesiastical revenues, and England's general wealth. A mark, thirteen-and-fourpence in reckoning, was intrinsically worth two-thirds of a pound of silver, and that pound of silver would probably purchase as much labour as a pound of gold at the present day, so very scarce were the precious metals. The

Bishops were constantly in debt to the King, and exposed to all the harass of Exchequer process; and the military service imposed upon their lands, always laid them open to his game. All England was the royal Scaccarium: the Castle, a very good piece, so also the King's Knight, but the King's Bishop best of all. 1089—1100

§ 10. Whatever bargains Rufus and Flambard were willing to make, there was one reserved lot they would not sell; the Archbishoprick of Canterbury. The seizure of this See was a *coup de main*. So long as Rufus could keep possession of this position, all around and below seemed at his command. Indeed, it was all but indispensable for the success of his campaign. By virtually suppressing the Archbishoprick, the British Churches lost their centre of unity and their most powerful support: the great privileges constitutionally and traditionally claimed or enjoyed by the *Papa alterius orbis*, the perpetual representative of the Pope, were such, that in the hands even of the most timid, they could scarcely fail to be obstacles against the King. The Clergy were entirely deprived of their ecclesiastical Protector and constitutional advocate; and yet, at the same time, the jealousies which unhappily prevailed were such, as not only reconciled them to the loss of this defence, but made them rejoice at the vacancy of the Metropolitan Primacy.

Importance of suppressing the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.

1089—1100

Jealousies between the Primates, inducing York to countenance the suppression of Canterbury.

A constant source of mischief to the Church, resulted from the unhappy rivalry between the successors of Augustine and of Paulinus: the insufficient compromise effected between the Archbishops Lanfranc and Thomas, in the previous reign, only rendered the latter more anxious to recover his unsubstantial rights. The Archbishop of Canterbury being now removed, York acquired, without further trouble, that supremacy he had so long contested. When we recollect the extreme violence and virulence which prevailed between the disputants during so many centuries, breaking out upon the slightest pretence, or without any, occasionally leading even to personal violence, it is doing no wrong to Archbishop Thomas if we suppose that he was heartily glad, when the decease of Lanfranc relieved him from all competition. York took the highest room on the high dais at the three high festivals, placed the crown on the King's head, wrote himself, without challenge, Primate of all England. Moreover, Archbishop Thomas was left at liberty to insist upon another important litigated claim, in which York had been hitherto unsuccessful, the subjection of certain Archdeaconries within the Mercian dioceses.

But though the Archbishop of York might enjoy his pre-eminence, as sole Archbishop, during the suspension of Canterbury, in the whole isle of Britain; yet the Northern Crozier did not

practically obtain any ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the Southern Province. Therefore, upon Lanfranc's death, all the suffragans of Dorobernia became independent, each in his own Diocese. The longer they continued released from a superior, the less would they be inclined to return to canonical obedience. 1089—1100

Peculiars of Canterbury. Their origin.

The lawful power of an Archbishop of Canterbury was very great; even the mildest Archbishop could not but meddle, nor an energetic Primate be otherwise than frequently unpopular. Some privileges also, enjoyed by the Archbishops of Canterbury were obnoxious; none jarred harder against ecclesiastical feeling, than the right which the Archbishop claimed of exercising episcopal functions, out of his own episcopal Diocese, in all the manors, sokes, or vills, constituting the endowment of his Archiepiscopal See, wheresoever they might be situated. Or, according to another version or representation of the privilege, the erection and dedication of a Church by the Archbishop in an Archiepiscopal manor or vill, immediately annexed the Parish or Chapelry to his Diocese. All these localities were withdrawn from their proper Ordinary, and became part of the Diocese of Canterbury. Hence the origin of the Archiepiscopal Peculiars, as they existed till the present day. It does not appear that, previously to the Conquest, this right, though asserted by Archbishop Dunstan, was well defined. Possibly it may often have been

1089—1100 conceded out of respect to the Metropolitan. Lanfranc insisted upon his prerogative, and exerted it without contradiction in some Dioceses, such as Worcester, but not universally. Nor can it be denied but that the utility of the privilege was very questionable, disturbing the symmetry of the hierarchical organization, and also offensive to the Diocesans.

Peculiars in the Diocese of London. Claim not pressed by Lanfranc.

The Archbishop of Canterbury owned many manors within the Diocese of London. This See continued filled, as it had been during part of the Conqueror's reign, by Flambard's first patron, Bishop Maurice, the ex-Chancellor. It should seem, that, either to avoid affronting the Bishop of London in his double capacity, Dean of the Province and the King's Chancellor, or by accident, Lanfranc had never entered these demesnes in his episcopal capacity. Indeed, two of the most important Middlesex residences, Hayes, and Harrow-on-the-Hill,—the latter so disguised under its Latinized Anglo-Saxon name of Herga, that good scholars have been puzzled by the classical effusions bearing its date—had been seized by the Conqueror, though Lanfranc obtained a tardy restoration of them; as well as of umbrageous Mortlake, in Walkeline's diocese of Winchester, on the other side of the Thames. Lambeth, afterwards the source of much quarrelling, did not, as yet, belong to the Archiepiscopal See. But the prerogative, though dormant, subsisted: a new

Archbishop might open the question. Hence, Bishop Maurice, and all other Bishops, under similar circumstances, would have a lurking private feeling against the Archiepiscopacy. 1089—1100

All these jealousies disinclined the Hierarchy from making any effort to accomplish the first step for the restoration of order in the Church,—the nomination of the Primate. Rufus enjoyed these divisions, and profited by them: they afforded him an additional capital of strength, upon which he could draw, for the purpose of carrying on the contest wherein he was engaged.

The schism in the Papacy—Favourable to the designs of Rufus.

§ 11. The general circumstances of Latin Christendom were favourable to the Anti-Church enterprize. That seeming prosperity, often so awfully granted to the wicked, received a remarkable exemplification in Rufus, till it impelled him to the brink of the chasm down which he was hurled. The schism continued in the Papacy. Guibert of Ravenna, under the name of Clement, supported by the Cæsar, was acknowledged in all the Churches of the German tongue. But in the very same year, when the Conqueror's death delivered Odo of Bayeux from captivity, he learned how the ambiguous prophecy, to him so delusive, that an Odo should come after Hildebrand, was fulfilled, though not immediately. Theodoric of Capua, who reigned about four months under the name of Victor III., being interposed between Gregory's demise and the

1089—1100 next Pontificate, considered as verifying the prediction in the person of Odo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, whilome a monk at Clugny. Elected by the Sacred College at Terracina, on the festival of St. Gregory the Great, the Gauls, Spain, and a portion of Italy, acknowledged him as legitimate. Urban II.—for this was the name which Odo assumed—came from the Rheimois, his father being Eucher, a Baron of that province. Birth and connexions aided the future promoter of the Crusades, in becoming the favourite Pontiff of the Latin tongue. Nevertheless, the Ghibelline Usurper and the Ghibelline schismatics continued very strong. The Archbishop of Ravenna recovered Rome; and whilst the Imperialists exulted in Pope Clement's success, the Guelfs mourned over the Anti-Pope Guibert's triumph. They ultimately prevailed; yet their progress was tardy. When the Flambard administration began, although the ancient city had submitted to Urban, yet the tower of Crescentius, the Castle of St. Angelo,—in its intermediate phase between the ancient mausoleum and the modern fortress,—was nevertheless held by the Clementines, and enabled them to command *all* the surrounding *Rioni* or Wards.

1088 12 March. Prophecy that "Odo should succeed Hildebrand," verified in the election of Odo of Ostia.

Urban II. Pope Guibert of Ravenna (Clement) Anti-Pope.

Neither Pope nor Anti-Pope acknowledged in England.

Continental Christendom thus wofully divided, the Royal prerogatives restrained the English Church from acknowledging either Pope or Anti-Pope. How and in what manner national

Churches, independently of a general Council, should act under these grievous circumstances, does not appear to have been settled.—It was a difficulty which the Canons of the Church never guarded against: the Church never contemplated such an evil.—The case was omitted in the ecclesiastical code; possibly for the same reason, which, according to the myth, induced the Grecian Legislator to avoid decreeing any punishment for parricide. The Conqueror silenced every doubt by assuming that all the rights of clergy and laity, temporal and spiritual, were concentrated in his person. Rufus, not a whit behind his father in such pretensions, went far beyond his father in the arrogance with which he asserted them; and he had reserved his acknowledgment (if any) of a Pontiff, till some opportunity should occur when he could make the recognition best turn to his advantage. There was no Pope known in England. The English Church continued, therefore, drifting away from the rest of Latin Christendom. Her hierarchy began to lose the support derived from common feeling and common sympathy. In other parts, the schism as to persons, did not repudiate the unity of principle. Here the principle was becoming obsolete. Gross as may have been the corruptions of the Papal Court, which even the most pious Pontiffs could not remove, this severance was nevertheless practically a great evil. The

1089—1100

The right of deciding upon the validity of the Pontifical title claimed by the Anglo-Norman Sovereign.

1089—1100 prerogative assumed by the Anglo-Norman Sovereign, of rendering the Papal Supremacy dependent on his arbitrary discretion and personal will, gave the last rivetting stroke to the fetters binding the Church. It deprived the Hierarchy of all power of movement, and prevented any possibility of correcting the prevailing abuses. Nothing but an independent foreign authority, even if unfairly exerted, could afford any chance of a remedy. Could the simoniacal bargain, concluded by the King upon the throne, be set aside by an appeal to the King in his Court of Chancery? The power of the Apostolic See had been much diminished by the schism; but it belonged to a great name. Urban, amidst his difficulties, exercised his exalted functions with efficacy and wisdom: in England the power was absolutely null.

The conflicts against Church authority mainly instigated by vice.

§ 12. And yet, after all,—a deeper and more pervading cause than any of the before-mentioned, furnished the strongest instigation to the aversion entertained by Rufus against the hierarchy, imparting the greatest aid to him for the enforcement of his designs. It was the desire which he, and Anglo-Norman England, and the Anglo-Norman Baronage, began fully to share with so many other Princes and High Estates; the desire of obtaining an entire emancipation from the moral restraint imposed by religion. During the period including the disputes between the Crown and the Pontificate, technically

designated by ecclesiastical historians as the conflict between the two swords, the real question at issue, about which we must no longer equivocate or speak smoothly, was whether there should or should not be one Law and Gospel permitting sin to Kings, Princes, and Great people, and another Law and Gospel prohibiting sin to the mean, poor, and small. The fact lies upon the very surface of history, and penetrates it to the inmost core. This battle-royal in defence of licentiousness is completely opposed in principle to the earnest strivings after amendment actuating the Council of Constance, which afterwards produced the Reformation; the latter, a sincere contest for holiness, though, from the depraved character of the Pontiffs, the sons of Eli, who then disgraced the Chair of St. Peter, the Reformation movement ultimately became perverted into deadly hostility against the Hierarchy. But these two contests have been very generally and injuriously confounded. None erred so grievously in this respect as the early Continental Reformers; a deplorable error,—for it was by entertaining this false judgment, that their efforts have been frustrated and marred. Their Churches are perishing—Geneva proscribes the doctrines of Calvin: whilst Lutheranism, recently exposed to bitter and cruel persecution by the House of Brandenburgh, now lingers in the ruling kingdom of Northern Germany, the most warlike, the

1089—1100

These contests misunderstood.

1089—1100 most wealthy, the most active, and the most intellectual of her Protestant communities, merely as a despised and grudgingly-tolerated sect, under Police superintendence.

The Antipapal warfare has been conducted upon a system involving uncompromising enmity against every Hierarchy: nor have we escaped unscathed from the results of this blind antagonism.—Our own noble sacred structure stands firm, yet riven and dilapidated by the artillery of her edifiers and defenders. The shells projected by Cranmer and Latimer, rebound from the Dome of St Peter's and pierce through the Cupola of St Paul's. Bullinger and Bucer load the ordnance of Zurich, pointed by Jewel, and Pilkington and Sandys, against the Vatican; and now, the self-same roaring guns are turned round, and batter the Anglican chancel and choir.

Incomparably more sad is the combination of the errors, into which human infirmity betrayed the Fathers of the Reformed Churches, with the organic principles of positive civilization. Imperfectly as these principles are disclosed, they, even now, only grant a provisional truce to any religious belief whatever, except upon condition of implicit subjection to Human authority, and prostration before Human intellect.—Hence, should any Church dare to make any real and *bonâ fide* assertion of practical faith, so as to cross the world in the world's opinions, or the world's lite-

rary, scientific, moral, social, or material lines of action, the demonstration of her loyalty towards the King of kings would be derided as folly or reprobated as rebellion. When the Scottish Kirk endeavoured to prevent the desecration of the Day of Rest, Lords Provosts and Town Councillors taunted her with the superstition of the dark ages; bigotry, worthy only of an Hildebrand.—For this, she has to thank John Knox and John Foxe, not David Hume and Voltaire. 1089—1100

The very essence of ecclesiastical discipline consists in its *isonomia*:—no respect to persons whatever, all ranks rendered equally amenable before men, to the Divine Law. If, from defective powers, or the general tendencies of society, it becomes impracticable for a Church to enforce discipline, or to interfere for the preservation of morals, it is an act of tyranny to impose a constraint upon the Prince from which the subject is exempted. But if a Church, like the mediæval Church, claims and exercises such an authority, then, neither rank nor station can excuse or restrain the Priesthood from executing their indefeasible commission: if they condonate the offence, they become offenders themselves.

Salutary effects of discipline of the Western Church in restraining the encreasing profligacy

The nations of Latin Europe were in danger of sinking into the filthy slough of the Eastern Empire: the vices of barbarity, struggling with the vices of incipient civilization. Rampant uncleanness infested the community: the higher

1089—1100 of the higher classes.

the station, the greater the profligacy. The history of Great Houses at this period becomes a scandalous chronicle; fornication, incest, adultery. The Church, by her discipline, her maxims, and still more as the only sound organ of public opinion, was the sole keeper of public morals. Vernacular literature, beginning to develope itself with great power in Southern Europe, only glossed and encouraged the general corruption. There was neither theoretically nor practically any mode of disconnecting morality from Christianity.

Not that the Church, always weakened by her own errors, faults, and transgressions, even in her purest and most efficient age, could do more than offer a laborious and agonizing opposition to evil. Yet an irrefragable proof of the general benefit resulting from ecclesiastical authority in the West, may be found by comparing the morality of Latin Christendom, however defective, with the Greek and other Oriental Christians, whose depravity, far greater than that of the Moslem, was so justly punished by the Mahometan sword.

Now, it was for the purpose of neutralizing or annihilating this salutary authority: most salutary in spite of superstition, doctrinal error, or Papal abuse, that the Princes of the earth were striving. Ordinary political motives and passions had their weight: yet when we consider the

character of the Sovereigns, who, during this period were most active in opposing the Hierarchy, we can, almost without exception, discover lust, as the primitive molecule round which all other motives crystallized. Henry IV. of Germany, basely flagitious; Philip of France, William of Poitou, open, pertinacious adulterers; Henry Beauclerc, Henry Plantagenet, Frederick of Hohenstauffen, vying in luxurious voluptuousness with Soldan, or Caliph; all had the most lively and personal interest to subvert, if possible, the only tribunal upon earth, before which they could be rendered amenable. They were taking counsel to break their bands; raging to free themselves from every yoke;—sons of Belial, in the true significance of that term, whereby Holy Scripture both designates and symbolizes the desperate spurning of Divine control. As for Rufus, he was inveterately profligate: he had refused to marry in order that he might indulge his vile passions with shameless liberty; he took equal delight in the transgressions he committed, and in tempting others to sin. 1089—1100

§ 13. Church affairs during this reign possess so much unity, and relate so much to one individual, that they had best be told continuously and connectedly: but the reader must recollect, that during and pending the ecclesiastical transactions narrated in the chapters immediately following, Rufus was also actively employed in pro- Civil and military transactions during the contest between Rufus and the Church.

1089—1100 fligacy, politics, and war. The confidence so well deserved by Flambard, enabled his master to be absent from England without scruple or anxiety: he had a faithful partner in his government. Whilst the Alter-ego, whether Clericus, or Chancellor, or Justiciar, or Procurator totius Regni, continued in the Palace-chapel, the Palace-chamber and the Palace-hall, the King himself was free to hunt and torment man and beast, negotiate, and campaign, wherever he chose, with unembarrassed vigour.—Protracted dissensions and hostilities in
1091—1094 Normandy, involving all the three brothers, Courthose, Rufus, and Beauclerc, increased that rancour which ended only with their lives.—A bold expedition, conducted by Rufus against the Scots,
1091—1093 for the purpose of enforcing Malcolm's unwilling allegiance, did not fulfil its immediate purpose. Malcolm fell; but not by the power of the English Sovereign.—Further wars ensued in Scotland; the removal of the rival was followed by a formid-
1095—1097 able though unsuccessful rebellion in England. —Normandy, acquired from the reckless Robert.
1096—1097 —Conflicts against the Cymri ensued, during which the Anglo-Norman King carried devasta-
1098—1100 tion to their furthest confines.—Lastly, the attacks made by Rufus upon the valiant men of Maine, turning his tide of fortune, complete the transactions of the reign.

At home, Rufus absent or present, the spirit of oppression was unabated. A chronicle, con-

sisting of scarcely more than the few memoranda made upon the monk's tablet, and jotted down as the events occurred, says that Normans and Englishmen, Clerks, and Laity, were in such misery that they loathed their very lives. Yet, during this season of anguish, about five years after the siege of Rochester, hope appeared to gleam in a quarter where comfort seemed furthest off; just as the refracted beams of the unseen dawn, reflected from the dark cloudy sky of the opposite Western horizon, sometimes announce the rising of the Sun. 1089—1100

Chapter III.

ANSELM OF AOSTA APPOINTED ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

1092, 1093.

1092, 1093. Relation of Biography to History.

§ 1. Boundary questions are perplexing: none more so than those of knowledge. There is no deciding them definitely by negotiation or discussion: the unaided pen cannot cut the knot, even like the half-drawn sword. We either overlook or evade this difficulty in physical science. Geology vivifies into physiology. The distinctions between organic and inorganic matter lose themselves when pursued. Electricity has attracted magnetism, and combines with chemistry. Still greater uncertainty prevails in ethical instruction, erroneously called ethical science; and in every subject connected with ethical instruction, the affections and operations of intellect and mind blend into each other like rainbow tints, and all their developments are equally commingled.

Try historical composition: labour to absorb historical facts for the purpose of imparting them; and you then feel how vague is the standard which measures the due proportion between individual biography and general history. This difficulty has been often discussed: one answer amongst many has been given, tersely, and with plausible yet deceptive clearness.—"Perhaps," it

has been said, "nothing can be more universally 1092, 1093
"laid down as a rule than that the Biographer
"ought never to introduce public events, except
"so far as they are absolutely necessary to the
"illustration of character: and that the Historian
"should rarely digress into biographical parti-
"culars, except so far as they contribute to the
"clearness of his narrative of political occur-
"rences."—Yet, in attempting to apply this rule, apparently so intelligible and well-reasoned, we find it disappear before the exceptions. If examined, the distinction between the two classes of composition becomes null. Holy Scripture, the earliest history, equally the foundation, the development, and the final cause of all history, is, strictly speaking, simply biography. Human history, treat it as we may, ultimately resolves itself into biography, told less or more imperfectly, according to the extent or deficiency of our knowledge.

All man's acts, deeds, and works, are strung upon the threads of individual existence: the inscription testifies the thought of him by whom it was dictated: the statue, is the sculptor's skill rendered tangible: the picture, the image reflected back from the eye of the artist, whose hand rendered the internal impression visible. In the direct evidence of history, the page we read should not be looked at and turned over as a thing of black and white, of lines and letters,

1092, 1093 but heard as the voice of the living speaker, by whose assertions and relations we are guided. We should strive to apprehend historical events as perceptions resulting from actual observation or living testimony, as things of which we possess an immediate knowledge. Never do we truly understand history, until it approximates to a recollection of the personages themselves, as if we had known them living, and seen them moving; until their ideas habitually efface the remembrance of the process by which the impress has been given: so that we may forget Clarendon in Fairfax and Naseby, Livy in Hannibal and Cannæ.

Could we fully and truly narrate the lives of all the individuals appointed as the instruments whereby mundane events have been evolved, that narrative would be the world's history in its real succession, the shape most instructive, and at the same time most confounding to human pride and wisdom. Moreover, it is only by examining individual character, that we maintain the due equilibrium between conjecture and evidence, upon which historical instruction depends. Without conjecture, you may have an accurate historical digest of evidence which no memory can retain: with a small proportion of evidence, a clever composition containing nothing worth remembrance. Biography fixes you to individual actions: and the individual actions attested by

biography possess exactly the same value in historical instruction which experiments do in physical science. Beyond the inferences and deductions they fairly warrant, no argument is more than arbitrary hypothesis. 1092, 1093

Dissertations upon institutions, disquisitions upon the progress of society, and such like, have not unfrequently, and by neglect of that due equilibrium between conjecture and fact, become equivalent to the well-sounding and unmeaning symphonies employed to fill up the fragments of an imperfectly-recited drama. They are the concertos and sonatas of literature: no words set to the one, no thoughts to the other. Or, like effects in the artist's sketch-book,—bright and pleasant, but looking equally well whether turned up or down, whether taken to be rock or cloud, earth or water, sea or sky. Abstract terms and collective denominations are the formulæ employed for designating human actions exhibited in their results; which formulæ we substitute for the actors, because we know them not in detail, nor could we grasp their complexity in our minds, if we did know them. All the workings of human society are only the effects of each man's individual obedience or disobedience. They possess no reality beyond their relation towards the Creator; the Spirit of the age has no existence except in that delusive generalization, which conceals the individual responsibility of each immortal Spirit,

1092, 1093 placed here under probation, and passing hence to judgment. Whenever we are permitted to possess sufficient information respecting any human agent who has embodied any influential principle, or become a hero by power, intellect, or crime, his personal history and destiny become elements in the history of all human kind. The motive can alone decide the right or the wrong, the wisdom or the folly of the action; not the imperfect test of success, or the still more fallible testimonials of censure, detraction, glory, honour, fame.

Philosophical history, professedly and avowedly a preconceived theory, wherein historical facts are degraded to the position of exponents, is, on account of its vapoury shadiness, entirely unsatisfactory. Romantic history, endeavouring to realize the past by minute and elaborate detail; by the Breughel treatment in which you trace every embroidery upon the cope, every fold of the chasuble, every joint of the armour, the bearing upon every standard, every feather of every plume, not less so. Human nature is painted out by the thick, gaudy body-colouring: it cannot shine through the gold, and the vermilion, and the azure. Such a composition dresses up human creatures like mummers and maskers in a Kermes pageant, utterly concealing the fundamental principle, that no history, not even the Bible, can be truly received, if we discard the revealed truth, that the *mal seme d'Adamo* never changes from

the Fall to the Day of Doom. All are, and were, and will be of one blood; all men, of like passions with ourselves. 1092, 1093

Our just appreciation of human actions cannot be in any wise disjoined from the estimate we form of individual conscience. It is individual human nature which peoples the waste of history; and the only passages to which we turn with real eagerness and interest are those connected with the secrets of the heart. Mary Stuart's guilt or innocence; Elizabeth's religion or Machiavelism; the sincerity or fraudulence of Charles, the faith or hypocrisy of Cromwell. Indeed, in examples like the last, where it may be controverted whether the battle has or has not been fought for Self, under the banner of holiness, such investigations constitute the very essence of history.

To this category belong the conflicts, which, during the reigns of Rufus, of Beauclerc, and of Henry Plantagenet, were waged in England between the Church and the Crown. If there be any portions of our early national annals, in which the appreciation of individual motive becomes the chief object of inquiry, they are found in the discussions concerning Anselm, the Archbishop and Confessor, and Becket, the Archbishop and Martyr. Are we to be thankful for their examples as true servants of their Master; or should we reprobate their dissimulation, cunning, and inordinate ambition?

1092, 1093

'In our present groupe, we believe that Rufus personifies secular authority in its most hateful aspect. Repeating the words of the Writer, equally eminent as a statesman and as an historian, the Anglo-Norman King truly exemplifies the mediæval world,—"le pouvoir temporel c'était la force pure, un brigandage intraitable;"—whilst in Anselm's character and portraiture, not dandled into devotional romance, not varnished with sentiment, not admired as an æsthetic decoration of religion, not illuminated for a Lady's souvenir, not selected as the subject of a fresco; but deduced from his own writings, and from authentic chronicles and muniments, and studied for instruction, —we behold "cet empire de la règle, cette idée du devoir, ce respect du droit, qui font la securité de la vie et le repos de l'âme,"—by which, again quoting the words of Guizot, the mediæval Church was so eminently characterized.

Materials for the biography of Anselm.

§ 2. Those who attempt Anselm's biography, —even perfunctorily and slightly as in this present work, from which all consideration of his graces and virtues, his doctrinal and metaphysical talents, must necessarily be excluded,—are encouraged by possessing most valuable materials. Anselm's life and actions are detailed in his ample correspondence. His letters, full of life and feeling, speak his unstudied and unguarded sentiments. We have also the advantage of William of Malmesbury's contemporary history, in whom the monk

Anselm's correspondence. William of Malmesbury. Eadmer.

is continually contending with the courtier. He clings to the shrine, yet more to the honour of writing under the patronage of royal blood, and inditing volumes for the royal library. Lastly, but pre-eminently, the *Historia Novorum*, and *Vita Anselmi*, the compositions of that faithful writer, addressed by Anselm himself as his dear son, and the staff of his old age. Eadmer, like Ordericus Vitalis, was of English parentage; professed at Canterbury, whence he passed to Bec-Hellouin. There he became the Abbot's Chaplain and private Secretary: the collection we possess of Anselm's letters was, if not begun, probably completed by him. Eadmer, Anselm's constant companion, continued with him so long as he lived; and, ultimately, obtained a Bishoprick, being appointed to St. Andrew's. Eadmer's own contemporaries fully appreciated his literary talents and descriptive powers: it is rare to find such testimonies among mediæval writers. Malmesbury quotes him as "bringing the scene before our eyes." He relates his news with the detail of a daily paper, and the pathos of a monk; never diverted from his accuracy, nor seduced from his fidelity. 1092, 1093

§ 3. Whilst, in manner before narrated, the Church suffered so intensely from persecution and spoliation under Rufus, she was flourishing where exempted from his immediate authority. Hugh Lupus, the great Earl of Chester, was actively 1092 Anselm invited to England by Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester.

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1092, 1093 employed in giving new vigour to St. Werburgh's Monastery. Even the King's rapacity could not check the fervour of the faithful, so imperatively were monasteries demanded by the wants of the age. This renovation included a State affair: the Abbot being one of the six spiritual Peers in the Palatine Parliament. It is possible, that, up to this period, Rufus and his Minister confined their attacks to Royal Foundations, where the King had a double right, Sovereign and Patron, and that Religious Houses under private patronage were spared: just as some family endowments in Northern Italy, have escaped the open robbery of the French, and the Austrian's sneaking avarice. But indeed, the Palatine Earldom of Chester, though subject to the English Crown, could scarcely be reckoned a portion of the English Kingdom: the Earl's sword being potent as the Royal Sceptre. Earl Hugh would defend his Advowson, as a flower of his Coronal.

St. Werburgh's Monastery reformed by the expulsion of the secular Canons, and the introduction of Benedictines.

St. Werburgh's reformation was effected by Earl Hugh, according to the literal meaning of the expression, "riformare lo stato," as it appears in the nomenclature of Florentine politics. The operation consisted in taking the State to pieces, and putting it together again. At this period, the sluggard secular Canons were generally considered incurable: the only effective mode of dealing with the foundation was to clear

them out, and replace them by active Benedictines. William de St. Carileph had recently done the like at Durham. There was considerable truth in this opinion, though possibly somewhat exaggerated by political feeling. Earl Lupus therefore established, in the old Mercian College, an active colony from the transcendant school of learning and piety, Bec-Hellouin; and in order that they might be duly organized, he invited Anselm of Aosta, whom we may recollect in company with Lanfranc, to come over. A judicious choice: Anselm had left England with everybody's good word, and was thoroughly acquainted with England and English feeling. 1092, 1093

§ 4. Anselm refused the Earl's solicitations three times: however, at last he assented, and arrived in England in the course of the year, when Rufus, having returned from his adventurous and toilsome expedition against the Scots, was employed in re-establishing and re-fortifying Carlisle. Anslem's road to Chester conducted him through Canterbury. Here, his reception from Monks, Clergy, and Burgesses, was such, that, after a troubled and anxious night, he departed hastily, retreating from the City ere the dawn. Anselm fled from what he considered a fearful danger, the danger of being designated for the Primacy. The people hailed him, as though they would appoint him Archbishop by acclamation; thus had Ambrose been raised to the See of

1092
7 Sept. Anselm's arrival in England, and reception at Canterbury.

Anselm escapes from Canterbury to avoid being hailed as Archbishop.

1092, 1093 Milan. Notwithstanding the Royal *consuetudines*, the nomination to Canterbury was accompanied by a species of popular or national consent. At the present day, the Metropolitan Chapter make a shew of independence. When they assemble, pursuant to the *congé d'élire*, two candidates are always named for the Archbishoprick; but the one who is not recommended by the Royal Letter missive, never gets a vote: this practice is evidently a reminiscence of ancient times, preserved by usage. But Rufus would not allow any approximation to a violation of his prerogative: a postulation in favour of his nominee, might perhaps follow in obedience to his declared intentions; but, made previously, freely, and independently, it would have brought all parties in danger of life or limb.

Anticipations of Anselm's promotion to the Archbishoprick.

This indication of popularity had not come upon Anselm by surprise. Long before, the anticipating voice of public opinion in Normandy had pointed out Anselm, the friend of the Conqueror and of Matilda, the depository of Lanfranc's traditions and opinions; and acquiring even a greater fame than Lanfranc for reputation, talent, and piety, as Lanfranc's proper successor.—"Should he go to England, he will surely be Archbishop," was the talk in the Refectory and the conversation in the cloistered garden; many a little plan and secret scheme, without doubt, gossipped over in Bec-Hellouin,

intended to fructify, "when our Abbot shall be Archbishop of Canterbury."—Anselm would give no support to such expectations, whether by act, word, or deed. Nay, it was for the purpose of avoiding even a seeming corroboration of the rumours, that he had so repeatedly denied acceding to the request made by Lupus; stating as a reason, his apprehensions, lest, by visiting England, it might be suspected he was stealthily approaching the vacant Archiepiscopacy. His, was not the discreet humility of the clever aspirant, who stoops to rise, the coy timidity which retreats for discovery, the *gratus risus ab angulo*, betraying where the concealed Seeker, hides to be found: but a real, simple, single-hearted aversion to the troubles of preferment, a determination to escape the snare. 1092, 1093

§ 5. Hastening away from Canterbury, Anselm's honours increased as he journeyed. On reaching the Presence, probably at Westminster, noblemen and courtiers crowded out to receive him. Rufus met the Abbot of Bec at the Palace-door, kissed him, and placed the friend of his father and his mother by his side. Anselm, encouraged by this kindness, endeavoured, whilst lodging in the palace, to exert a useful influence, for which the way thus seemed to open; he spoke forcibly to the King concerning the wrongs inflicted upon the Church. His exertions failed: the slight glow of good feeling excited in Rufus by Anselm's reception at Court.

1092, 1093 the company of the living and the memory of the dead, entirely subsided, and nothing was done.

Anselm, having soon completed St. Werburgh's settlement, wished to return as speedily as possible to Normandy. The disturbed country, Duke Robert's bad government, the needs of Bec-Hellouin, might well occasion his anxiety; but an unexpected obstacle arose. According to the very strict police of Anglo-Norman England, a passport under the Great Seal, called in subsequent Chancery language a *licentia transfretandi*, was in many cases needed before a passenger could embark and cross the seas. William the Conqueror, as we have seen, had made this law peculiarly stringent upon the Clergy; without the licence, Anselm could not move. The Sovereign also exercised the same prerogative in another mode, by restraining any individual from quitting the kingdom. We obtain a beautiful exemplification of the happy working granted to the English Constitution, when we observe how a power, (in some degree modified by Magna Charta,) exercised tyrannically, under Normans and Plantagenets, vexatiously, capriciously, or corruptly, under Tudors and Stuarts, has been matured into the ordinary administration of justice. I allude to the Writ of *Ne exeat regno*, that process, now issued by the Court of Chancery for the purpose of preventing a debtor in equity from escaping to foreign parts, and defeating a rightful claim, being directly

Royal prerogative of restraining persons from quitting the kingdom.

Origin of the Writ of *ne exeat Regno*.

derived from the arbitrary prerogative of our ancient Kings. In the form of a legal remedy, the prerogative was first employed by the Chancery under James I.,—but as an ungracious, despotic, and ill-fated exertion or abuse of State-authority, we may well recollect the detention of Cromwell by his Son. 1092, 1093

When Anselm requested from the King the needful permission, Rufus stubbornly refused. His mind had been wholly turned against Anselm; he spoke of the Lombard Abbot with scoff and scorn and anger. Though no reason is assigned for his denial of the passport, it is possible he dreaded lest Anselm should do some act prejudicial to the royal authority, or at least to the royal reputation, upon the Continent; may be, by instigating Rome against him, or spreading further reports of his tyranny. But in the actions of a partially disjointed mind, the motives can no more be collected, even by those who are nearest to the individual, than you can see the specks floating before your companion's disorganized eye, or hear the ringing in his ears. Whatever the cause, Anselm's passport was stopped: Rufus would not in anywise permit it to be issued. Anselm, a prisoner at large in England, had no remedy but to linger, until by the King's favour or the King's caprice, the licence could be obtained. For this purpose he followed the Court. Whoever had a favour to seek from

Anselm's passport refused by Rufus.

Anselm follows the Court.

1092, 1093 the Crown—even the administration of justice must be reckoned as a favour—was compelled to "follow his suit" in person; and this practice continued more or less till the Revolution.

1092 Christmas. Great Council at Gloucester. Christmas drew nigh: Court and Council assembled as usual during the Festival, when the King wore his crown. Such a periodical assembly, always a State Ceremonial, was on this occasion also employed on high and important business.—Scotland continues to refuse her allegiance.—Rufus, on ill terms with both his brothers: Henry Beauclerc, of whom more hereafter, preferring a claim to his mother's inheritance.—South Wales, much disturbed; a desperate conflict now taking place there between the Prince, the last Prince of Deheubarth, Rhys ap Tudor, and the Norman adventurers, Fitz-Hamo, their Chief, who are establishing their power within the British boundary.—These circumstances probably induced Rufus to meet his nobles at Gloucester, to him a favourite city. Anselm, the revered Abbot of Bec, ought to have been respectfully lodged in St. Peter's Abbey; but we can well understand that Abbot Serlo, now an old man, but who survived Rufus, might be unwilling to receive an inmate so disagreeable to the King; Anselm, equally desirous to avoid obtrusion in the Sovereign's way. Accordingly he lodged somewhere out of the town.

§ 7. We are now entering the fifth year

of the period during which, as the chroniclers say, the English Church "sustained the King's sacrilegious persecution:" an intelligible phrase, composed of words in common use, conveying a definite meaning; but to those who employed it, signifying much more than it denotes in our vocabulary.

1092, 1093

Effects which would have resulted from the subversion of the mediæval Church, translated into modern ideas.

Civilization and Christianity rarely meet on common ground, that narrow common ground, whose neutrality the Spirit of the Age unwillingly concedes: and never meeting upon terms of equality; Civilization, the well-bred Despot, Christianity, the timid Vassal, disguising servitude under the name of Alliance.

Religion, according to our dominant ethics, is an occasional and subsidiary element in human society.—The majority amongst us admit its utility under existing circumstances. Religion is a medicine recognized in our moral pharmacopœia; prescribed, administered, swallowed, and taken, as an alterative, tending to mitigate some of the ailments affecting the body politic. Were our masses quite in a healthy state Civilization could do without it. It would not be missed: such is our esoteric reasoning.

Hence we consider the duties and influences of the Church in and upon the visible and existing human world, to be exceptional and incidental. Doctrines, creeds and catechisms, pulpits, platforms, sermons and hymns, Sunday-books,

1092, 1093 good-books and Prayer-books, heaven and the world to come, all belong to her, but if possible, let her have nothing more.

Religion, on the contrary, according to the dominant ethics of the mediæval period, was a permanent and primal element in human society: at once medicine and nourishment; efficient in the visible as in the invisible world. They sought to render Faith the leaven of man's daily bread in the corporeal, no less than in the spiritual sense, the spring of the duties and ordinances, pursuits and avocations,—all the trials, toils, and labours, mental and bodily, which the sentence of sorrow passed upon man enforces and requires. For whereas positive civilization now seeks to exclude religion from any participation in the material and intellectual concerns of human life; so did Catholicity then seek to vivify all those concerns by faith. Religion was as truly the bond of society in the Christian world, as Islam still faithfully struggles to be.

Such being the mediæval principles, it follows, that if we reason upon the terms "sacrilegious persecution of the Church," accepting them according to the modern signification, however correct that signification may be in the nineteenth century, we shall draw erroneous and defective inferences. We substitute a portion of the proposition for the whole. This is one of the many instances in which a contemporary writer becomes

obscure, in consequence of his entire familiarity with his subject. He assumes that those whom he addresses are equally acquainted with the matter in all its details: he therefore leaps at once to conclusions. Still more, if he be an impassioned advocate, pleading his own cause, imperfectly and impersuasibly; such an advocate, possessed as he is by one prevailing idea, in which all others are absorbed, will necessarily present his case in the least favourable aspect to the tribunal. The great art of the advocate consists in throwing himself into the mind of the judge, which his own anxiety will prevent him from discerning. Nor can we understand the true bearing of the contemplated general secularization of Church property in the eleventh century, except by fusing the middle ages and recasting them into the mould of our own. 1092, 1093

Disregarding the minuter proprieties of language, Rufus would now be viewed, not as the enemy of religion, but as a fierce and ignorant enemy of civilization and social order. Every secular body or institution was then an emanation from the Church; or more truly a province of the Church, not cut off by its peculiar circumscription from the universal community to which it belonged. Eleemosynary, literary, commercial and utilitarian functions of the mediæval Church.

Suppose that Rufus has completed his destruction of Church institutions.—The first and chiefest sufferers are the poor. When we now denomi-

1092, 1093 nate the Church, "the poor man's Church," the notion which the commendation raises, is that of a house of prayer, where the poor man is permitted to go in and sit down upon a bench, without paying a shilling to the pew-opener. But in the mediæval period, the Church was the poor man's tenderest mother. She provided for the poor man's body, whilst she cared for the poor man's soul. She was the active parent, teaching her children to perform the duties of humanity towards the poor, not as creatures of an inferior genus, but as brethren amongst themselves. The typical stanzas of a well-known hymn—"Come wretched, come ragged, come needy, come bare, Come filthy, come naked, come just as you are,"—then received their literal application from the Church. All the eleemosynary functions now exercised under the direction of the State, or by associations acting upon the voluntary principle, were by her performed.—The scheme of Rufus, therefore, suppresses all Unions, Workhouses, and other similar Parliamentary institutions: all Hospitals, Asylums, Refuges for the Destitute, Dispensaries; including Benefit, Blanket, Clothing, District Visiting and all other Charitable Societies.

In the next place, the cultivated classes are smitten. The fear of the Lord was then, to the fullest extent of the Christian's talent and power, admitted in word and in deed to be the beginning of wisdom. All human learning was

founded upon Faith; all sciences obeyed Theology, their Queen.—Therefore all Universities, Academies, Institutes, Polytechnics, Colleges, Public and Subscription Libraries, Lecture-rooms, Foundation, Grammar, Proprietary, and Private Schools, all the machinery of education and instruction, down to the very Infant School upon the Green, will be annihilated: all the means of intellectual improvement destroyed. 1092, 1093

Thirdly, commerce and manufactures lose their chief support. It was the doctrine as well as the practice of mediæval Catholicity, that the Divine blessing should be sought and acknowledged in all the pursuits of human industry. Prayer, Penitence, and Charity, incorporate the Guild. All crafts are broken up, all the connections of master and workman terminated. All trading and joint-stock Companies dissolved. Even the ordinary means of transit and security; the means of providing safely and conveniently for those who travel by land or by water will share in the general bankruptcy—bridges, roads, lighthouses, inns, hotels,—many forfeit a large proportion of their funds, others fall into neglect or desolation.

Lastly, the only means of investment being real property, the confiscation of the Church-lands contemplated a general disturbance of the relations between landlord and tenant throughout the kingdom; the Government itself revolutionized, by the destruction of an essential Order in the

1092, 1093 State, and which had grown up, in, and with, every Christian kingdom. The position of the Prelates in the Great Council was in some respects analogous to that of Borough Representatives, although in others, they constituted, as now, a portion of the Peerage. The "Consuetudines" placed them entirely at the Crown's merciless mercy, extinguishing their independence and legal influence. Above all, the blow struck at the national rights by the virtual abolition of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury. That chief member of the Great Council, who, placed by the side of the throne, enforced the Sovereign's responsibility, was removed from the Legislature. His absence subverted the principle of the Anglo-Saxon Constitution, that the Sovereign should be controlled by a permanent Prime Minister, possessing rights, sacred as his own.

1092–3 Christmas week. The Great Council become at length anxious for the appointment of an Archbishop of Canterbury.

§ 8. After so many years of oppression, this political—or, if you choose, constitutional—sentiment, caused the first faint voice to be raised on behalf of the Church. Not from the Bishops; they were becoming more and more tame and heartless; nor from the people, without leader or coherency; nor from the devout, who practised patient submission as a duty; but from the lay nobility, otherwise most interested in supporting the Royal authority, and profiting by the then subsisting state of things. How the movement originated we know not; the transac-

tion is told anonymously: all we can collect is, 1092, 1093
that the great men of the laity, the "Primores," neither consulting with nor supported by the Bishops, determined to take some step for the restoration of the Primacy.

And what was the boon which the Primores, after much consultation, ventured to ask? Was it to restore the canonical right of Election? No; this would have been an inexcusable infringement of prerogative. That the King would advise with the Prelates upon the selection of a competent person to supply the vacancy? Such a suggestion could not be hazarded. That he would, in the plenitude of his authority, invest any Clerk who might have deserved, yea, even purchased, his favour? Even this mode of attempting to check the devastation would have been disrespectfully bold.—The very utmost upon which the Great Parliamentary Council dared to venture, was an humble petition, beseeching the King's permission for public prayers to be offered up throughout England, that his heart might be moved to nominate a fitting Pastor, and the Church of England in some degree relieved from her desolation and misery: a supplication which, as Eadmer anticipated, would surely appear most marvellous in after-times. The address was sent up to the King by the Bishops. Rufus would not delude them by assumed civility. He despised their office. An equivocal, mocking, blasphe- They address the King.

1092, 1093 mous answer, defying the effect of prayer, was the only concession obtained.

The Great Council construed the ungracious reply into an assent; and this their course occasioned an unexpected difficulty. The Bishops, upon whom the duty of preparing the Service devolved, were completely bewildered, not wishing to incur the slightest liability which could commit them with the King. Yet, amongst the faint-hearted, and yielding like the rest to the contagion, was the excellent and learned Osmund, author and compiler of the Sarum Breviary, the "Sarum use," the noblest type of liturgical ordinance ever produced in Western Christendom. They therefore shifted the duty upon that stranger who chanced to be within call, one not of their own body, Anselm of Aosta. The Abbot of Bec hesitated. Prudent son of politic Italy, he rarely acted indiscreetly: he knew how foolish it was for him to put his sickle in other men's corn; therefore he shrank from usurping upon the proper functions of the English Bishops, and only yielded when strenuously urged. Anselm's devotional compositions are remarkable for their spirituality as well as elegance. The Bishops gladly adopted the Form he suggested; and the Great Council being dissolved, the members returned to their homes.

The Bishops request Anselm to compose the form of prayer.

Rufus continues in Gloucestershire.

§ 9. Rufus continued in Gloucestershire. The Great Council dispersed; but when the

budding Lenten-tide, the Spring, approached, the Baronage again re-assembled by the King's command, in military array. Subsequent transactions point out that Rufus was much interested in the fortunes of Fitz-Hamo, Seigneur of Astreme-ville, in Normandy, a Knight, concerning whose previous ancestry little is known beyond his father's name, though now advancing rapidly in greatness, influence and power. Some say he came over with the Conqueror; but he long continued in comparative obscurity, being one of the new men who arose into consequence after the first displacement of the Field-of-Hastings baronage, occasioned by Odo's rebellion. Then he became suddenly one of the most mighty nobles, nay, almost potentates, in the realm.

1092, 1093 and is stricken with a sudden illness. 1093 February, March.

Rufus bestowed upon Fitz-Hamo the great Honour of Gloucester, formerly held by Earl Brihtric, which had belonged to Queen Matilda, and was claimed by Henry Beauclerc as her devisee or heir. The history of this territorial Honour and domain is so extremely perplexed, that we shall not endeavour to unravel it; but the more essential particulars are sufficiently certain. The Honour had been obtained by Fitz-Hamo as a donation from Rufus; and Henry Beauclerc considered that the grant constituted a large item in his heavy account of grudges and grievances. Fitz-Hamo and his twelve Knights companions were winning Morganog, the present Glamorgan, from

Robert Fitz-Hamo wins Morganog, afterwards the Lordship of Glamorgan.

1092, 1093 Jestyn ap Gurgant; and throughout those districts constituting the Garden of South Wales, the Cymri were fleeing and falling before the Norman sword. Rufus seems to have been preparing for the field in support of Fitz-Hamo, who was so widely extending the boundaries of the Anglo-Norman realm. For this reason, passing through Thornbury, one of the capitals of Fitz-Hamo's Honour; and then moving his quarters about five miles onwards towards Bristol, he fixed them at the "Villa Regia" of Alveston.

Ramparts and fosses, sinking and rising on and around the turfy summits of the surrounding hills, show that Alveston had, at a remote period, been occupied as a military position. These memorials of primeval populations boldly advance to the brow of the rising ground, commanding a clear, though distant view of the Severn and of Wales beyond. This station of Alveston had evidently been always of great importance, from its vicinity to the once famed passage of Aust, which until recently, constituted the accustomed transit from Gloucestershire to the opposite shores of Monmouth, the ancient Gwent land.

The appointment of an Archbishop of Canterbury was still apparently as distant as ever. Prayers continued to be offered; but Rufus, to use his own expression, had pitted himself against prayer. However, his determination could not stop conversation. Rufus lived jovially and easily

with his Court. People were full of Anselm; 1092, 1093
and when the King was conversing amongst the Peers, one spoke out earnestly and sincerely,—"We have no man amongst us so holy as Anselm, loving only the Lord: there is no earthly object he desires."—"Not even the Archbishoprick of Canterbury?" answered Rufus, with his usual jocular sneer.—"Certainly not," was the reply.—Rufus continued mocking loudly and indecently; and concluded by exclaiming,—"Every competitor shall give way to me; so long as I have breath in my body, no one but King William shall be Archbishop of Canterbury."

There was nothing in this speech, taken by itself, differing from his ordinary tone; but it was evidently connected with some discussions which displeased him. Political troubles were frequent and incessant; danger apprehended from Scotland. Extravagant mirth, gross indulgence, unbridled licentiousness, violence of temper, and perverse impiety, continued constantly working upon Rufus, in addition to the cares of government. His general conduct indicates the symptoms of that heated, harassed state, neither decided fever nor decided insanity; yet a state, in which it is an even chance whether the mind will disorganize the body, or the body derange the mind. At the present juncture, the mind continued sound, but the physical frame gave way. Whilst yet vociferating his scorn of

1092, 1093 Anselm, Rufus dropped down as if struck. Borne to his bed, his illness increased so rapidly that his attendants hoped or feared him to be at the last gasp. Nevertheless, they conveyed him to Gloucester, where we may suppose that such medical aid as could be rendered by his physicians, of whom John de Villula, the new Bishop of Bath, was the chief, would be most conveniently afforded. Bishops, Abbots, Barons, Nobles, assembled at Gloucester, there awaiting the event in anxious expectation, whether his last moment would arrive.

Rufus supposed to be on his death-bed, names Anselm to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

§ 10. It is just possible that they anticipated a recovery,—hence they endeavoured during this season of affliction and debility, to gain some remission of the oppressions under which all were suffering. The royal dungeons were filled with captives. As law then stood, imprisonment was rarely a part of the punishment annexed to any judgment given at the suit of the subject; but it was inflicted with execrable severity upon offenders against the Sovereign. All Crown debtors were considered as offenders, and punished accordingly. Some were incarcerated for arrears of taxes, and gelds, and forfeitures.—Far more, for the fines and ransoms imposed upon transgressors against the forest laws. These processes were now particularly employed by Rufus as the means of extorting money from the wealthier English, the English of the old gentility. Thieves and Robbers were kept in duress in order

to give the King a chance of profiting by the bribe, which would save the offender at the very foot of the gallows. 1092, 1093

All who had access to Rufus earnestly entreated him, for his soul's health, to forgive his debtors, and to free his captives generally from their bondage; nor did they fail to urge the duty of restoring freedom to the Church; particularly the reinstatement of Canterbury. The vacancy and the evil occasioned to England, had become the opprobrium of the kingdom.

Rufus, on the first Sunday in Lent, was either unwilling to act, or so clouded by illness as to be unable to give any assent to these demands; when some of the King's household suddenly bethought themselves to call for Anselm, who, ignorant of what was taking place in Gloucester, lingered in retirement near the town; in order that he, the pious, and the wise, might comfort and exhort the Monarch. A strange and unaccountable movement; for we have not the slightest indication that the hostile sentiments entertained by Rufus towards Anselm had been in the least relaxed. 1093 March 6.

However, Anselm came with the utmost haste, and gave such counsel as beseemed a priest towards one at the point of death. Anselm proceeded calmly and methodically. He informed himself of the advice which had been given; approved thereof, but directed that Rufus should

1092, 1093 begin by making a hearty confession of his sins, and engage, should he recover, to fulfil the supplications addressed to him on his people's behalf.

The sick man promised all that was asked, and more; undertaking, should further length of days be granted, to rule thenceforward with righteousness. Ill as he was, he, of his own accord, offered to confirm the engagement in the most solemn, authentic, and public form. A Charter was engrossed and sealed with the Great Seal. In addition to all that had been petitioned, he decreed the opening of the prisons, the liberation of the captives, the release of all debts due to the Crown, and a general pardon of all offences against the royal dignity. He renewed the compact made at the Coronation, promising, as he had done before, that he would govern the whole people committed to his charge, with justice and mercy. As he could not approach the altar himself, he employed the Bishops as his delegates, to declare his promises; empowering them to become his pledges and securities between earth and heaven.

Rufus for the third time renews his compact with the people.

Further obligations remained. The general Charter of liberties did not satisfy the special and particular obligation of restoring the Primacy. Those about Rufus continued exhorting him to appoint a Metropolitan. He gave tokens of assent: the languid nerveless sufferer, raised his aching head from the comfortless pillow, and pre-

pared to speak. How anxious is the suspense prevailing, whilst they crowd around the couch, awaiting his words.—Of course some old and useful favourite will be chosen: some Clerk of the Chancery, Gerard, or William Warlewast, perhaps Flambard. The silence is broken. Rufus, propping himself on his enfeebled arm, pronounces the name hitherto so scorned and contemned:—"I choose the holy man Anselm."—All present rejoiced with exuberant gladness: all save one. One was truly aghast. Anselm, overwhelmed by terror, refused the dignity. Rufus earnestly besought him, as the greatest favour he could bestow, to accept the Primacy. He appealed to all Anselm's feelings of friendship and gratitude. Not merely did Anselm entertain the greatest apprehension of being harnessed to the same plough, as he afterwards expressed himself, with such a furious and untameable steer as Rufus, but there were real and positive obligations preventing him, and which he stated. He owed allegiance to another Sovereign. He was bound by canonical obedience to another Metropolitan. Lastly, he was wedded to his own community, who had a right to insist upon his continuing amongst them. Therefore, unless Duke Robert, William Bonne Alme, Archbishop of Rouen, and the Monks of Bec, severally granted their permission, he was incapacitated.

1092, 1093

Anselm refuses his nomination, but compelled to receive investiture by main force.

All these difficulties will be easily removed,

1092, 1093 shouted the company. Anselm refused more resolutely, if possible, than before. Fruitless arguments ensued. Prelates, Priests, Clerks, Monks, flung themselves at Anselm's feet, renewing their supplications. Quick as they, he attempted to defeat them by throwing himself also flat on the ground.

It was needful, according to the usage then prevailing, that investiture should be corporeally given by the nominated Prelate actually receiving the symbol from the King's own hand. This was an act which neither giver nor receiver could delegate or perform by proxy. "Bring a pastoral staff," some one cried; and, surrounding Anselm, they dragged, pulled, pushed, drove the struggling Abbot close up to the King's bed-side. Anselm resisted, and so strenuously, that, to use his own language, those present, might doubt whether they beheld maniacs mastering their keeper, or the keepers carrying off the maniac to his place of confinement. Anselm's captors seized his right arm, and holding it firmly in their gripe, turned the right hand towards the sick King, who offered him the pastoral staff. Anselm clenched his fist the tighter, and would not open it on anywise. The Bishops, who had secured him, continued striking his fingers, trying to drive the staff between them by main force. They hurt the old man so much that he cried out; and either his strength giving way to their violence, or his constancy yielding to

pain, the pastoral staff was thrust into his hand. 1092, 1093
The Bishops squeezed that hand in theirs, so that he could not open thumb and fingers and drop the staff; and thus he, in spite of his loud cries of "Nolo, nolo, non consentio," and his unabated resistance, was deemed to have received investiture. Still continuing to refuse, still protesting that the whole was a nullity, he is borne, rather than conducted, to the adjoining Church. Bishops and Priests chaunt the joyful Ambrosian hymn; whilst without, the crowds are shouting "Long life to the Archbishop of Canterbury!"

The intelligence rapidly spread throughout England; and accompanied by the immediate removal of intense sufferings and vexations—the delivery of the prisoners and the release of the Crown debts,—the event was celebrated as a general jubilee. Universal Jubilee.

Chapter IV.

Anselm's troubles in his archiepiscopal functions.

1093, 1094.

1093, 1094

§ 1. All parties concerned in the Archbishop's nomination had been taken by surprize. Anselm, without premeditation or expectation, found himself elevated to a station he entirely disliked and feared. Strange and ludicrous as the bedside investiture may appear;—and the rude, uncouth, almost indecorous scene has been presented in the plainest terms, employing the words transmitted by those present, but principally by Anselm himself—there is no reason for doubting his sincerity, although his reluctance excited amongst his contemporaries no less comment, than similar conduct would at the present day. His opposition was not a piece of acting, but resulted from his sentiments; like those of Ambrose under the like circumstances, genuinely expressed. He dreaded the responsibility cast upon him: he dreaded the great change of life: he dreaded the disturbance of all his favourite studies and occupations: he dreaded the banishment from the tranquil seclusion of his prosperous College: he dreaded the cares imposed by secular pomp and power. Removed from his brethren, his pupils, his books,

All the parties concerned in Anselm's promotion taken by surprize.

Anselm's unfeigned reluctance.

and his cell, what could Anselm of Aosta gain? these feelings, aggravated also by nervous timidity, the sudden shock, advancing age. 1093, 1094

By a combination of unforeseen and irresistible circumstances, Rufus had been compelled, not merely to annul that determination of keeping the Archbishoprick vacant, which he had pledged himself should be inflexible; but also to nominate the individual most qualified to thwart his destructive projects. Yet this act was solely his own act; by his own despotic caprice he had detained the individual whom he most scorned and feared in England: nigh the Court, close to his own person, so as to be at once fit and ready to receive the dignity. He had no one to blame but himself. It was his own doing. Rufus must account with Rufus for not hearkening to Anselm, for not letting Anselm go. Rufus compelled to thwart his own plans.

The temporal Peers yielded to the desire of restoring the Great Council to its completeness. An Archbishop of Canterbury was needful in support of their own dignity. Without the Archbishop, the legislature being maimed in its most important member, an uncomfortable sense of imperfection prevailed, lowering the whole body in public estimation; and it was this deficiency which they had striven to remove. The ecclesiastical government constituted a department of the civil government, and the civil go- The Primores actuated by political motives.

1093, 1094

vernment a department of the ecclesiastical. These exertions were right, nay laudable, but merely politic and secular: the Primores sought the nomination of an Archbishop, in order that the administration of the realm might be completely organized. Parliament would now become indignant did the Crown refuse to appoint a Commander-in-Chief, or to issue the Commissions for the Ordnance or the Admiralty Boards. The Great Council viewed the vacancy of the Archbishoprick in the same manner; but they had not the slightest inclination to restrain any of the royal prerogatives, in which they, indirectly, shared. "*Pace ai preti, Ma pochi e cheti,*" exclaimed Alfieri. There might be a difference of opinion respecting the numbers of the sacerdotal order, but that the priests should be *cheti*, was indispensable. The Peers wished for a pleasant companionable man of business, who should help to work the machine; though certainly, speaking of them collectively, the last thing they desired was to have amongst them the greatest practical theologian of the age, the strenuous defender of orthodoxy, the stern rebuker of sin.

The Bishops carried on by the general impetus.

Actuated by mixed feelings, the Bishops, previously reconciled to apathy, starting out of their torpor, forgot their jealousies and private reasons, and promoted Anselm's election to the utmost, obeying the impulse without consideration This is a common social phenomenon. Amongst

all classes, high or low, whether concerned in the most seemingly important or the most seemingly trivial transactions, there often arises the same instinctive, impulsive union, which may be observed in a launch; when people who care nothing about the ship or her owners, crowd on board, shout, stamp, leap, and do all they can to make the vessel go off the stocks, and float in the water. 1093, 1094

§ 2. Tranquillity being somewhat restored by the cooling of the great burst of enthusiasm, all the before-mentioned several parties began to consider the results of the transaction, so important to the British Churches and the Anglo-Norman realm. Anselm fully anticipated that the proposed dignity would be replete with trials and dangers. In his earliest letter on the subject, he uses a strong expression, implying his dread of bodily harm; having however diligently and sincerely tried his conscience, he convinced himself that he could not refuse the station to which he had received this providential call. He had been conquered by force, literal as well as metaphorical. To force, he yielded. But yielding, he nevertheless conducted himself with caution and wariness. In the middle ages, the Lombards were proverbially men of business: the national characteristic pervaded, not merely the money-changers, who sat behind their Banco, but the whole community. All had a Banking tincture. Teutonic steadiness and Italian acuteness conjoined in producing the

Steps taken by Anselm to legitimate himself.

Anselm's character as a man of business.

1093, 1094 mixed race.; and the good qualities of Barbarian and Roman blood, were and are happily combined. Anselm, however truly detached in spirit from the world, did not repudiate the advantages derived from this inbred aptitude: he cultivated all his talents. Shrewd, courteous, well-spoken, discreet, watching his opportunity, he can rarely be found committing himself—never leaping his horse till he comes to the hedge, then going right over:—and he now adopted every precaution which forecast could reasonably suggest.

Consent obtained from Duke Robert,— The investiture by the staff, though giving Anselm, as the usage was then understood, a legal and political right to the Archiepiscopate, did not pledge him to the dignity; nor could he properly and consistently retain the promotion, otherwise than with the consent of his temporal and spiritual superiors in Normandy. It was needful he should release himself from his existing Norman obligations, and, by such exoneration, be rendered competent to contract the new obligations which the English Archiepiscopate imposed. First of all, he needed Duke Robert's assent. The Lombard patrician did not owe any political subjection to the Norman Sovereign. His relations to Robert were official, binding whilst they continued, but susceptible of being released. Even natural allegiance could be renounced according to the principles of mediæval jurisprudence. An inimical *defiance* was originally only the undoing

of *fiance* or fealty. Anselm sought to be amicably defied. 1093, 1094

After his tumultuary acclamation in the bed-chamber, Anselm was designated to the Archbishoprick by the Anglo-Norman legislature, in constitutional form, though only in implicit obedience to the previous Royal investiture. This is the semblance of national consent to which we have before alluded. No record or direct narrative of the proceeding has been preserved: we are only informed of it incidentally; nevertheless the part taken by the several ranks and orders is expressed with precision. The Lords, the Principes, petitioning the King, advise the choice; the Clergy and people, petitioning, approve. These postulations were transmitted to Courthose, soliciting his permission that Anselm might resign Bec-Hellouin. Robert received the proposal ungraciously, answering disrespectfully and unhandsomely; but, with his usual instability, he gave way, and then apparently with good will.

consent of the Archbishop of Rouen;

William Bonne Alme, the kind Archbishop of Rouen, not only assented, but urged Anselm to accept the office. Some of his suffragans entertained a different opinion. Anselm's conduct gave rise to remarks and censures: Gilbert Fitz-Osbern, or Le Gros, Bishop of Evreux, the Conqueror's old confidant, seems to have been prominent in expressing his disapprobation; however, the assent was obtained.

1093, 1094

consent of the Convent of Bec.

Lastly, the proposal had to be considered and debated at Bec-Hellouin. Anselm's removal could only be contemplated as a great loss to the House. Indeed, so it proved, for after he quitted the Monastery, the Collegiate splendour of the opulent establishment gradually declined. From the exertions of Lanfranc and Anselm, Bec-Hellouin acquired its European reputation as a University; but, of all institutions, schools can least depend upon traditional eminence. The proposition for accepting Anselm's resignation received a determinate, perhaps obstinate opposition. Nevertheless, when the *placet* was put to the vote in the Chapter, the non-contents were in the minority; the successful party communicated the result to Anselm with great satisfaction, and William de Montfort, the son of Thurstan and Albreda, being, upon his recommendation, elected in his stead, he became entirely free. All these transactions were tedious and complicated, and the season far advanced before they concluded.

Rufus, recovering health, relapses into his previous tyranny.

§ 3. In the meanwhile Rufus was passing through a great change for better and for worse. Anselm's appointment concurred with the crisis of the disease, afflicting the King's body and the King's mind; in both, the alteration took place rapidly. Renewed health, renewed life, had been vouchsafed, affording a season for amendment and repentance. Under suffering, Rufus, contrite, or

at least subdued, appeared fully impressed with 1093, 1094
the desire of ruling as a righteous King. From moaning Rufus, weak and weary upon the bed of sorrow and pain, submitting to the Physician's regimen and the Confessor's exhortation, proceeded grace, mercy, and justice; but the sick man became convalescent, the convalescent merry and hearty.—Did history permit, we might render the chronicler's prose into the rhyme of the Geste. Priest and Leech retire, giving place to jougleur and minstrel: the Squire brings the bright helmet, the Chamberlain the trimmed robe. Hamo Dapifer and Eudo Dapifer, the smoking-dishes: the Bow-bearer the shafts, the Mareschal holds the great stirrup, at the sight of which the dogs yelp and yowl for terror. And Rufus shews too plainly, that, relieved from the corporal ailment, he relapses into the ailment of the soul.

Strength and vigour fully restored, every promise he had given was violated. Eadmer tells us that misery desolated the land. The captives, just become accustomed to the light of day, dragged from the homes where they had been so recently welcomed, cast into the dungeon, and, by the King's special command, loaded with heavier chains. The poachers blinded. All the Crown debts which Rufus professed to pardon, exacted again with inexorable severity: all the Crown suits discharged by the Charter revived, all offenders against the Crown's prerogatives or the

1093, 1094 Crown's revenues, compelled to appear before the Crown Judges, who sought no other end, except the gratification of the King's avarice and malice. All the evils inflicted upon the people by Rufus previously to his attack, were obliterated by comparison with his tyranny, when, after the transient respite, enforced by the visitation of disease, King William Rufus was himself again. Admonished, he replied by despairing desperate blasphemy—a scoff implying that he had renounced all hope of infinite mercy.

Rufus organizes his Cabinet and Party.

§ 4. It was with Rufus, alienated from all goodness, in this tone of mind, never afterwards varied, so long as he lived, that Anselm began to transact the business necessitated by the acceptance of the Primacy. The first affair in which he engaged excited the King's highest displeasure; and Rufus and Anselm being thenceforward in constant collision, it becomes needful to examine somewhat in detail, the elements constituting the King's party.

Rufus was in nowise altered. He stood in his original position. Such as he was before his illness, such he continued; the same powers, the same mind, active, implacable—determined to employ all means without scruple or hesitation. But the circumstances under which he had to act were entirely changed — he was placed in a greater difficulty, and moreover in a new kind of difficulty. Hitherto he had to deal with a class. Rufus stalked the herd safely, and

picked them out one by one. Now ensued the higher, but more perilous sport, of encountering the stag at bay. All powerful as Rufus was, he could not oppose himself to Anselm otherwise than in the Great Council. 1093, 1094

Rufus was not yet prepared, like Plantagenet, to use the sword. Therefore he had to battle with Anselm by statecraft. His prerogatives against the Hierarchy might be exercised methodically, by his personal authority; but in a face to face conflict of principle, it is far more easy for a Sovereign to deal against a whole order, than against any one individual, in whom the power, withdrawn from the multitude, is concentrated—the one man who stands up and gives the challenge; a Luther declaring—"*Ich kann nicht anders: hier steh' ich: Gott helfe mir, Amen.*"

§ 5. Let us enter the Anglo-Norman Cabinet. We shall find its nucleus in the Royal Chapel, the Chapel of the Chancery: Flambard, the Premier; Bloet, the Chancellor: Gerard and William Warlewast, experienced Clerks. Other officials there were, but the forenamed Chancery-men most trusted and employed by the King. Ministers and supporters of Rufus' Cabinet.

We must now turn our attention to the Episcopal Bench, and try to distinguish the confidants of the Monarch. After what has been observed concerning the Chancery, it will be easily anticipated that all the prominent functionaries, Flambard, Bloet, Gerard, and Warlewast, ulti-

1093, 1094 mately became Bishops. The first promoted was Chancellor Bloet; whose advancement was intimately connected with the transactions of his predecessor Remigius, the Conqueror's friend.

Remigius removes his see from Dorchester (Oxon.) to Lincoln—dies before the completion of the translation.

§ 6. When Rufus acquired the throne, Remigius had not yet been able to complete the removal, so anxiously desired by him, of his Cathedra from Dorchester to Lincoln. His Minster had been nearly completed: a glorious structure. The old traditionary saying,—"London is, York was, Lincoln shall be the richest of the three," seemed almost fulfilled, for the old Roman city, the secret seat also of Danish power, where the descendants of the Danes, believing in the indefeasible right of the Danish Kings, watched the guarded hoard of treasure, whilst the Jews rejoiced in theirs, was then preeminently wealthy; the Minster rising in the midst, a fitting crown.

But the consecration of the Basilica had not been perfected. Portions of the great Mercian Bishoprick, once the most extensive in the Island, had, in consequence of the earlier political relations of the country, far back in the time of the Northumbrian Kings, gained a dubious boundary. It was asserted to stretch from Thames to Humber; the latter a name geographically obscure. At Dorchester, (the Oxford Dorchester,) Remigius was Canterbury's suffragan; the Archbishop of York asserted that Lindesay belonged to the Northern Province. Pope and King, Hilde-

brand and the Conqueror, sanctioned the Cathe- 1093, 1094
dral translation. The decree had not yet been canonically fulfilled; but, notwithstanding the want of the proper sanction, the building proceeded steadily: the Minster roofed in, the scaffolds struck, the lofty Roman arches casting their deep shadows on the broad and towering front, open to receive Remigius.

This active and stirring Prelate had already organized and endowed his Chapter after the scheme of Rouen; he styled himself Bishop of Lincoln; yet he was not the enthroned Bishop of Lincoln: and would he ever be so inaugurated? His brother Bishop of Hereford, the astronomer, said No. He had consulted the stars: their evil influence would never be counteracted: never would Remigius witness the blessing of his Cathedral. Remigius heeded not: he worked, laboured, bribed; obstacles diminished; gold seemed entirely to have dispelled them. Despite of the reclamation made by Archbishop Thomas, the donation paid into the Treasury moved Rufus to issue his writs, addressed to all the Bishops of England, commanding them to be at Lincoln on Sunday in Rogation Week, for the purpose of 1092, 9 May.
completing the ceremony. Robert, the astrologer-Bishop, heeded not the mandate: he knew it would come to nothing. Ptolemy's Quadripartite disclosed to him that the ceremony would be frustrated. Time passed rapidly away: they were

1093, 1094 within three days of the appointed solemnity, when Remigius suddenly died.

Bloet appointed to Lincoln upon the death of Remigius.

§ 7. Robert Bloet, the Chancellor, was placed in the Royal Chapel, the central mart of ecclesiastical preferment, the Royal Exchange. Broker as to others, he struck his bargain with his Principal, and passed to the newly-erected See; a movement of great importance to Rufus. None more able than Bloet in matters of state, but miserably qualified for such a dignity and charge. A delay ensued; though Bloet appears to have entered into possession of the episcopal endowments and jurisdiction; an irregularity consistent with the doctrines of Royal investiture, not to be confounded with Royal nomination, whatever the Gallican palliators of the abuse may maintain: nor did he become a Bishop in his spiritual capacity, until, as shall be after mentioned, he obtained episcopal Orders through Anselm's hands. In the meanwhile, Bloet, Chancellor, and by state courtesy called Bishop, treated with Rufus for an exoneration from the supremacy of the Northern Primate. Three thousand marks constituted the price, or rather the first instalment paid to the King for the immunity. It was out of the question for the Archbishop of York to resist: Lincoln became the Diocesan Cathedral. Subsequently, Rufus compensated York by granting to the Archbishop the Abbeys of Saint German's Saleby, and St. Oswald's Gloucester;

neither of them his to give, but which Archbishop Thomas accepted because nothing else was to be obtained. 1093, 1094

§ 8. Robert de Limesey, originally a Capellanus or Chancery-man, dating his promotion from the preceding reign, adhered firmly to Rufus. A strenuous Prelate, in some respects a good churchman, though over fond of shew and splendour. Leaving St. Chad and the field of martyrs, he translated his episcopal seat from humble Anglo-Saxon Lichfield, to Palatine Chester. Here, mortifications awaited him. Overshadowed by Hugh Lupus, he was not contented: therefore he sought a third change. It was said, that through the Lady Godiva's liberality, every beam in the Basilica of Coventry was covered with gold and silver. Bishop Robert anticipated he should rule at Coventry with more grandeur; and, by coming to an arrangement with the Treasury, the translation was effected. Henceforward, until the Reformation, Robert de Limesey's successors were indifferently denominated Bishops of Chester, Coventry, and Lichfield, whereby some confusion is occasioned. Bishop de Limesey lived under three Kings. Well adapted for Court, he always retained Royal favour, and became one of Henry Beauclerc's chief Counsellors.

Robert de Limesey removes the episcopal throne from Lichfield to Chester, and from Chester to Coventry.

§ 9. John de Villula of Tours, otherwise Johannes Turonicus, conjoined three faculties: a Clerk in orders, a Chancery-clerk, and a

John de Villula, Doctor of Physic, first Bishop of Bath and Wells.

1093, 1094 physician; but the last capacity eclipsed all others. John de Villula was scarcely thought of otherwise than as a professor of the healing art. Therein he acquired a well-deserved reputation, and earned an ample fortune. The episcopal historian of Bishops, speaking of John de Villula, informs us that he was "ex eorum genere quos empiricos hodie appellamus, usu non literis medicus probatus." Hence, probably, his success: he treated his patients by experience and common sense, instead of dosing them according to Hippocrates and Avicenna. John de Villula went on prosperously; acted as though he considered himself not bound to obey the obsolete canons which censured his practice, took his fees, became a favourite at Court, the King's body-physician. Knowing that anything the King had to dispose of, could be bought, and seeking to employ his capital advantageously, he watched his opportunity for a good investment. This occurred upon the death of Giso, the old Bishop of Wells, which took place soon after the accession of Rufus, and he purchased the vacant incumbency.

Bath, or as the place was constantly called until the last century, the Bath, then enjoyed a transcendant reputation: men wondered at the noble structures, temples, palaces, halls, hypocausts; the decaying honours of the Aquæ Solis, "built by Julius Cæsar," the universal personifi-

cation of Roman power. The thermal waters of the Sun excited constant admiration and wonder. Philosophers speculated upon the cause of the heat: some quoted Pliny and Solinus, others sought their origin through the glimpses of Aristotle's philosophy. A more popular theory ascribed them to the necromancy of King Bladud; four huge vessels of brass filled with brimstone, sal-ammoniac, and saltpetre, burning day and night affording perennial warmth to the gushing springs. 1093, 1094.

Now, it was an object which John de Villula had much at heart, to remove his See from the Wells to the Bath; a desire arising, without doubt, from his favourite and profitable pursuit. The Anglo-Saxons called Bath by the appropriate name of "*Acheman's Chester*," the City of Invalids.—Where could Bishop John de Villula, Doctor of Medicine, and not of Divinity, be more advantageously established? By paying a large additional sum to Rufus, this arrangement was effected upon the death of the Abbot of Bath; and John de Villula became the first Bishop of Bath and Wells, though not entirely settled in his new seat till the subsequent reign, when, by payment of five hundred pounds more, he purchased the Seignory of the Soke and Burgh of Bath, and completed the bargain. He began by treating the Monks of Bath most harshly, not only despising them as stupid barbarians: "hebetes, et sua æstimatione barbari," but also starving

1093, 1094 them. Nor did the Canons of Wells fare better. The Bishop improved his estate by demolishing their residences, and building his Palace on the site. And conniving also with the Archdeacon who seized their endowments, they were reduced to primitive poverty.

Herbert de Losinga, Bishop of Thetford, afterwards Norwich.

§ 10. Herbert de Losinga, originally a disciple of Bec-Hellouin, afterwards Prior of Fécamp, accompanied Rufus to England in the capacity of Chamberlain. No one started in the English Church with so large a share of obloquy. It was said he derived his surname from his wheedling or lozing. Herbert was stigmatized as the flattering liar, the *Lusinghiere*, above all others; but we cannot help suspecting that he has incurred more than a due share of ignominy. He was a Losinga by birth. His father was a Losinga, the Bishop of Hereford was a Losinga. They were evidently an old and flourishing family. Herbert Losinga is commemorated as the most celebrated dealer of the time, the great contractor in ecclesiastical preferments. Hyde or Winchester Abbey, so honoured by King Alfred's memory, he bought for his father; Ramsey and Thetford for himself. Admired, envied or defamed, he hitched into verses, ascribed to the "most excellent poet of the age," (perhaps Malmesbury himself, who calls them a quotation,) but whose name is nevertheless concealed:

> Surgit in Ecclesia monstrum, genitore Losinga,
> Simonidum secta, canonum virtute resecta:

and then alluding to the legend, St. Peter is 1093, 1094
invoked to check the ascent of the deceiver:

> Petre nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua tentat
> Si præsens esses, non Simon ad alta volaret,
> Filius est Præsul, pater Abbas, Simon uterque.
> Quid non speremus, si nummos possideamus—

Winchester cost him a thousand pounds, Thetford nineteen hundred. The terms of his removal to Norwich are not known. The Pope sanctioned, the King approved; a good price being paid for the permission. Roger Bigod aided effectually in this transaction, which possessed the recommendation of being in strict conformity to the canons, directing the removal of sees from decaying to populous localities. Thetford declining, Norwich was increasing rapidly in importance. The Earl gave Losinga the Tombland, the Campo Santo of ancient Norwich, the Cemetery, with its Church, without the walls. Here, on this consecrated ground, where the Cross already stood, Herbert Losinga laid the first stone of the Cathedral, so accurately repeating in its forms the model he brought from his own country. In the apse of the Basilica the throne of Herbert remains, and the north transept still displays his effigy in the attitude of Founder. Rufus bestowed the Staff upon Losinga, therefore he equally exercised the prerogative of deposing the Bishop, calling in some other prelates to give a countenance to the proceeding. This deprivation, however, operated

1093, 1094 merely as a suspension. Losinga regained his dignity; and, smarting under the punishment, became afterwards the King's most steady adherent during the contests with the Primate.

Nevertheless, Herbert Losinga, notwithstanding the irregularity of his promotion and his injurious subservience to the Crown, acted practically in all other respects, as an excellent prelate. Consistently inconsistent, Herbert, labouring to obtain a lawful object by unlawful devices, had sought his situation with the full intention of performing its duties. It seemed absolutely impossible to become a Bishop without simony. Herbert, charitable, honest, fervently devout, was, in our common colloquial phrase, most anxious to obtain a sphere of utility; and to hold that such an end justifies the means is no new thing. Father Bartholomew de Coton, or Cotton, a good-tempered old Norwich Monk, apologizes for Losinga by saying that there is a certain decretal allowing a clergyman to buy a church, when he cannot otherwise obtain a cure of souls. The verification of this quotation would be difficult; but Herbert's conduct palliated, if it did not justify his error; for which he soon felt deep and earnest compunction. He worked earnestly for the benefit of Flock and See. Amongst

Churches built by Losinga.

the permanent tokens of his diligence are the Churches of St. Leonard on the Hill, St. Mary's in the Marsh, and St. Mary's at Elmham,

St. Margaret's at Lynn, St. Nicolas at Yarmouth; and above all, Norwich Cathedral, existing amongst us, as most useful memorials of Losinga's penitence and liberality. 1093, 1094

Bishop Losinga was an eminent scholar. He, with much pains, imported the first copy of Suetonius into England. Not being able to find the book in this country, he obtained a transcript from Fécamp, probably brought to him by Brother Stannard, whose name still subsists in East Anglia, and whom he commemorates in his correspondence as a confidential messenger. Suetonius became a favourite author; and we may therefore date the first English edition of the Classic from the Norwich Scriptorium. First transcript of Suetonius brought by Losinga to England.

§ 11. The restoration of William de St. Carileph was equivalent to a new appointment. After continuing three years in exile, the tedium of which had been diminished by his activity, Rufus permitted him to return. The profits of the sequestrated Bishoprick passed to the Treasury, and the strong castle continued, for some time, in the royal power. William de St. Carileph thought much about Durham whilst abroad, and there procured the plans for the Cathedral. He proceeded strenuously to raise the pile. Turgot the Prior, the Historian of Durham, Chaplain also to holy Queen Margaret, laid the first stone. Malcolm of Scotland, gladly acknowledging St. Carileph as his Bishop, assisted in the ceremony. A William de St. Carileph restored to the See of Durham.

11 August, 1093.

1093, 1094 mother-church frequently transmitted her outward lineaments to her daughters. Durham Cathedral became the normal model of ecclesiastical architecture throughout the ancient diocese of Aidan and Finan, far beyond the Tweed;—the maternal features being distinctly traced at Jedburgh, Kelso, above all, Dumferline, where the indented columns repeat William de St. Carileph's masonic designs. Like Losinga, St. Carileph was a useful Bishop, though with fewer redeeming points, blinded by ambition, and sinfully proud. He did every thing in his power to promote the antagonism between Church and State, and was the recognized leader of the Royal party. Flambard himself could scarcely have assisted Rufus so efficaciously in working out his great scheme.

First stone of Durham Cathedral laid by St. Carileph, Turgot the Prior, and King Malcolm.

The preceding enumeration includes the Bishops upon whom the royal influence was most decidedly pronounced, who moved most actively at the King's commands: but the distinction between them and the others, only consisted in the degrees and gradations of inertness, pliability, subserviency, and hostility. With one exception, all the Bishops congregated round the Crown in opposition to Anselm: statesmen, courtiers, party men—anything rather than Churchmen in the political strife, caballing, speaking, acting, voting for the Government. Some were pious; others, according to the ordi-

nary average, diligent Bishops in their own dioceses: but whatever their real sentiments may have been, they were thoroughly overawed by the King's genius. This must be accepted as the reason, if not the excuse, for the conduct they pursued. 1093, 1094

§ 12. Amongst the Lay Peers who supported the King, Robert de Mellent, afterwards Earl of Leicester, the Prud'homme, the eloquent, the intellectual, nay, the leader of fashion in his day, stands conspicuous. Had Mellent recorded his principles in writing, his ideas might have expanded into such doctrines as Dante speculatively inculcated concerning the Christian Monarchy. Rufus was actuated by sheer hatred against religion; but Mellent seems to have entertained the theory of the ecclesiastical authority inherent in the imperial Crown. No individual gave so great a moral support to Rufus as Mellent, universally admired for his wisdom, wise in all things excepting those conducing to his own comfort and happiness, so that he ended a life of splendour in the deepest wretchedness. Mellent managed for the King, in the lay Section of the Legislature. Eudo and Hamo, the two Stewards or Dapifers, were both thoroughly at the King's service.—Furthermore, Stephen Earl of Albemarle and Holderness, often in England about this time; Ivo Taillebois, concerning whom there are so many traditions of his enmity to the Church, Lay Peers supporting the King. Robert de Mellent.

1093, 1094 lately in disgrace but now recalled to favour; and Urso de Abitot, whose memory is preserved in Bishop Aldred's rhyming malediction, were diligent attendants of the Court.—All these acted together. In proportion as the disputes inveterated, so did the plan of the Royal Chapel, or Chancery party, mature. According to the doctrine of law, conspiracy may be inferred from the overt acts of individuals, co-operating in a common cause. Public opinion, like Crown Lawyers concerned in a State Trial, strains hard for a conviction of those whom it reprobates. When the plot thickened, a general opinion prevailed that a deliberate plan existed for harassing Anselm, until he should be driven out of the kingdom; in which case St. Carileph, as a reward for his exertions, was to obtain the Primacy. At last the enmity ran so high, as to induce people to believe, that, if Anselm's bloody corpse had been found lying on the pavement of the Council Hall, the perpetrators of the deed would have had no great reason to dread the royal tribunals.

Plans of the Royal party.

§ 13. We retrace our steps, and resume our narrative from the month's mind immediately following Anselm's investiture, when Rufus yet had his illness upon him, and his graciousness, therefore, yet unimpaired. He began smilingly, seemed determined to anticipate the usual tardiness of the Chancery, commanded that Anselm should be put in possession, not only of all the property

Transactions immediately ensuing the investiture.

appertaining to the See, but also of the City of Canterbury, held by Lanfranc as a life benefice. Anselm, by virtue of the King's writ, entered into some of the Archiepiscopal Vills or domains, Bishop Gundulph assisting him in their management. But Rufus was getting better. The main bulk of the endowment remained in the King's hands, and the restitution of the temporalities was indefinitely adjourned. 1093, 1094

The readiness and alacrity shewn by Rufus therefore evaporated into civility. His actual concessions were of small value either to giver or receiver, except as they might be given or received. On the part of Rufus, his acts implied little more than the wish to appear agreeable; and Anselm, by occupying the domains needful for his maintenance, did not place himself under any legal or moral obligation. He accepted the favours tranquilly, and waited the result. A character of the usual standard, a trimming combination of sincerity and worldliness, placed in collision with Rufus, would probably have soon been coaxed, complimented, and terrified into complete dependence. A feeble, though right-minded Priest, would, as probably, have assailed the King, claiming all the Archiepiscopal rights and privileges; but Anselm waited his opportunity—and in the mean time, Rufus shook off his infirmity, and the tug of war began.

1093, 1094

§ 14. Anselm, when the communications with Normandy approached to completion, opened his negociations with the King. Seeking a confidential interview, which took place at Rochester, he made a clear and specific declaration concerning the terms he required. His final acceptance of the Archbishoprick,—he informed Rufus—depended upon the reply given to the following stipulations.

Anselm states to Rufus the conditions upon which he will accept the Archbishoprick.

All and every the lands appertaining to the See of Canterbury, as they were held by Lanfranc, shall be restored without suit or controversy.—Concerning those possessions belonging to the See, alienated by your father, before Lanfranc's Pontificate, and which he was not able to regain, you shall do right and justice.

Secondly, inasmuch as you have not yet recognized Urban, and I have received and do receive him as the Pope, know, lest scandal should arise, that I acknowledge him as Apostolic Father.

Lastly, in all things belonging to the service of God and Christianity, you shall prefer my counsel before all others. I accept you for my temporal Lord and Protector: you shall obey me as the Director of your conscience and your Spiritual Father.

Justice of Anselm's demands.

Such were Anselm's propositions.—Property unjustly seized, to be restored; usurped or abusive prerogatives renounced; conscientious obedience rendered to the Primate of the realm.—

Not merely were these all just demands; but what rendered them more perplexing, just demands made exactly at the right time, neither too soon nor too late; including all points (save one) connected with the Primatial *Status*, upon which any differences between the King and the Archbishop could arise; unembarrassed by minor or unimportant details. 1093, 1094

His explicit declaration concerning the property of the See was indispensable. In addition to the seizures made by the Conqueror, large portions of the domains had, during the vacancy, been appropriated by Rufus, and granted out to be held as Knight's fees. Therefore, if Anselm, without reclamation, consented to accept the diminished endowment, this act, tantamount to a confirmation, would have been conclusive against him and all his successors.

With respect to the acknowledgment of Urban, Anselm was not seeking to controul Rufus, but was anxious to ascertain whether his own rights of conscience would be ensured. Otherwise than in obedience to the lawful Pontiff, he, Anselm, would have no connexion with the Church of England.

The third article concerned the whole Realm: before accepting the constitutional Primacy, Anselm required the Sovereign's assent to the compact upon which the station was held.

Rufus was astounded, paused, and would not

1093, 1094 Rufus gives an evasive answer.

answer without advice. Therefore the Bishop of Durham, and Robert de Mellent were called in as witnesses, before whom the King required Anselm to repeat his conditions. Anselm did so, readily and deliberately; and Rufus, after consideration with his counsellors, returned an ambiguous answer.

He would restore the lands of the See as they were actually in Lanfranc's possession.

With respect to the alienated lands, he, the King, would not then come to any agreement.

Respecting other matters, he, Rufus, declared he would do what he ought to do;—and thus, the conference ended.

Council of Windsor—Anselm refuses to confirm the alienations of the Church-lands.

§ 15. Not long afterwards, all the needful Norman assents having been transmitted to Rufus, Anselm was in the position enabling him to receive the English Primacy. Rufus summoned him to Windsor. This is one of the earliest instances of public business being transacted in the Forest Castle, then better known as a prison than as a palace. The appointment of the Council in such a wild locality,—for all Berkshire was reckoned the King's forest—is a circumstance not without importance in the transaction. Rufus urged Anselm not to hesitate accepting the Archbishoprick, nor to oppose the postulation or election made by King and kingdom. At the same time, he requested as a favour—"for love of me," was his expression—the confirmation of the

grants made of the Church-lands to his Knights. 1093, 1094
It should seem that they were Thane lands, held of the Archbishoprick before the Conquest, and which, having continued vacant in consequence of the death of the tenants, had been granted out by Rufus to his own men. Anselm peremptorily rejected the demand: had he been as unable or unwilling to resist as the Tudor Churchmen, there would have been little or nothing left for Henry or Elizabeth to despoil.

Anselm refused, for the reasons which must ever prevent an ecclesiastic who acts consistently up to his principles, from concurring in the alienation of Church property: simply because it is not his to give. "Do not argue with me," he replies, "whether the act be expedient or no—*cadit quæs-*"*tio*, I have not the power."—His title depends only upon his incumbency; his interest extends not beyond the usufruct; he has no right to dispose of property belonging to others, for whom he is merely a trustee. This is so obvious, that it would be unnecessary to make the remark, but for the wretched cavils raised against Anselm, and which obtrude themselves upon our recollection in every portion of his history. Even an antiquarian lawyer has said, that "Anselm injudi-"ciously began the battle by his opposition to "the King's wishes respecting the Church-lands, "inasmuch as their restoration could not be "effected without great disturbance of persons." Anselm's refusal unjustly carped at by modern historians.

1093, 1094 A curious argument. Would this lawyer have advised an heir to desist from claiming his father's lands, because the suit would be disagreeable to those who held the property by intrusion?

§ 16. Anselm's negative, brought on, at once, the indications of an approaching contest. Rufus became extremely incensed, and all further proceedings respecting Anselm's induction were suspended. At this, Anselm rejoiced; he had submitted to the burthen of the Episcopal office because the duty seemed in the first instance imperative; but he would be still more happy, should uncontrollable circumstances annul the call, and release his conscience. He was now in full hope, that, exonerated from the Archbishoprick, he might return to Bec-Hellouin; not in the capacity of Abbot, for his surrender of the dignity, and the appointment of his successor William de Montfort, had been completed, but as a private monk; and live, to die, in that tranquil home.

Council of Winchester—Anselm induced to accept the Archbishoprick, and performs homage.

But the business became more and more important. Rufus could not retreat, and he was compelled, against his inclinations, to summon another Great Council at Winchester. Here the matter was fully discussed; promises also made which induced Anselm to comply. Accepting the Archbishoprick, he consented, in consideration of the investiture, to perform liege homage, or become the King's man, as Lanfranc had done before him,

according to the usage of the country, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Canons: a conduct only intelligible upon the assumption, that the local institutions, rendering the Archiepiscopate an office of mixed jurisdiction, might, in Anselm's opinion, derogate from general principles, and thus excuse him. 1093, 1094

The importance attached to this concession, afterwards the source of Anselm's bitter repentance, may be best understood from the extraordinary precautions which Rufus adopted for the purpose of establishing the act by conclusive evidence. Rufus obtains, contrary to the usual practice, a record of Anselm's homage.

As yet, there were no consecutive records of the Chancery. These muniments, without a parallel for completeness, antiquity, and richness, appear to have been first directed by Archbishop Hubert,—a constitutional precaution upon the accession of John Lackland. Until that period, although the accounts of the Exchequer were regularly kept, and the proceedings of the Curia Regis, the earliest without exception, of any European State or Realm, duly enrolled, none of the transactions in or before the Chancery were registered or recorded. A detached instrument might be prepared, but this was very rare. The performance of homage, an act so permanently stringent upon both King and subject, had scarcely any memorial. Nevertheless one very ancient example exists, in this very case of Anselm:

1093, 1094 a record obtained, so to speak, by an underhand device. On the day subsequent, Rufus made a donation, or rather a concealed sale, to Bishop Bloet; and in the concluding or testing clause of the Charter,—the clause containing the date, and the names of the persons present, when the Great Seal was affixed—a statement is inserted of Anselm's submission. The homage is rendered an era—"Hoc donum factum est, die crastinâ quâ Anselmus Archiepiscopus, meus ligeus homo factus est," Ralph Flambard being one of the witnesses. So that here was an incontestible memorial, in authentic form, ready to be produced against Anselm, in case he should deny, or try to deny, the obligation he incurred.

The English Hierarchy, Catholic and constitutional.

§ 17. No national Church exists, in which the theory of a Constitutional Hierarchy,—that is to say, a Hierarchy established in a State by the annexation to the Spiritual Ministry of secular rights, possessions, and dignities—is more clearly and distinctly enounced, according to Catholic doctrines, than in our Church of England.

For the purpose of proving this position, an example of the singular vitality of the departing principle, the adherence to antiquity, which until our age has constituted the peculiar characteristic of the English Commonwealth, we shall proceed to quote the laws and usages prevailing at the present day.

In the first instance, our Imperial Sovereign,

who, by virtue of our Lex Regia, represents the people, and the Chapter who represent the Clergy, concur in the postulation and election; the latter being fulfilled in canonical form. 1093, 1094

The election which bestows the inchoate title, being duly notified to the proper members of the Episcopate, they proceed to confirm, spiritually invest, and consecrate the appointed Prelate.

Mode of performing homage by a Bishop of the present day.

The Bishop having received his office and work through the successors of the Apostles, by imposition of hands, is then required to contract the civil obligation claimed by our Sovereign. He kneels before the Queen, and placing his hands between hers, repeats the oath of fealty administered by a great officer of State, and declares his homage; but the expressions which bound the temporal Baronage are softened or elided.

The qualified homage being performed, the Bishop, invested with his secular dignity, departs from the Queen. She signs the Bill for the restitution of the temporalities, a document reciting the canonical election of the Bishop by his Chapter, as the primary motive and consideration. The Bill is the warrant for the Patent of restitution, which, issuing from the Chancery, furnishes the authority for taking seizin of the lands; the Bishop having acquired possession of his See, by installation in the Cathedral.

Anti-Erastian character of all

Thus does our Constitution declare, that the spiritual office is bestowed by the spiritual order,

1093, 1094 the acts by which an English Bishop is nominated and approved.

whilst the temporal possessions and honours are dispensed by the Crown. All the civil rights and possessions are adjuncts; they subserve the Sacerdotal functions, whereunto the law has annexed them.

The doctrines of investiture against which Hildebrand contended ultra-Erastian.

But this recognized ascendancy of the spiritual character, ultimately resulted from the struggle in which Anselm himself, when he discovered his great error, afterwards triumphantly engaged. In the eleventh century, the Church was threatened by a Lay or Protestant Episcopacy, supposing even the form of a Catholic Hierarchy had been retained.

The acts consequent upon Anselm's investiture and homage.

§ 18. In the earlier ages of the Church, election, consecration, and induction, followed close upon each other, composing an entire transaction; but, when Kings were carrying out the doctrines of royal investiture, the several stages were widely separated and inverted, so as to give the aspect of spiritual authority emanating from the Crown. When the *Consuetudines* ruled in England, it became a necessary consequence, deduced from the principle and practice of lay investiture, that the outward title to all Episcopal functions, possessions, and jurisdictions was derived from the delivery of the Staff. As soon as the symbol had been received, and the homage performed, the nominee, though, if "put to his clergy" he might not have been able to read one word in the neck-verse, was the King's Bishop.

1093, 1094

Charter of Rufus, granting the Archbishoprick of Canterbury to Anselm.

Anselm's Charter, therefore, declared that he received his Episcopatus from the Sovereign. "William King of the English, to all Bishops, "Earls, Proceres, Sheriffs, and all others his liege- "men, French and English, greeting—Know ye "that I have given unto Archbishop Anselm the "Archbishoprick of the Church of Canterbury." And thus qualified by investiture, homage, and the instrument under the Great Seal, Anselm unconsecrated proceeded to take bodily possession of the Cathedral granted to him by the King.

Anselm enthroned at Canterbury, 18 Sept. 1093.

He entered Canterbury on the fifteenth Sunday after Trinity. Clergy and Laity came forth with hymn and psalm to receive their Pastor, to hail the successor of Augustine: he was enthroned in the Basilica with great magnificence. Here Anselm joined in the Collect of the Day, constantly used by the Church of England from the time of Pope Gregory the Great, to whom this portion of our ritual owes its origin,—"Keep, we beseech thee, O Lord, "thy Church with thy perpetual mercy, and "because the frailty of man without thee cannot "but fall, keep us ever by thy help from all "things hurtful, and lead us to all things profit- "able to our salvation," a prayer remarkably applicable to the anxious circumstances under which he had placed himself. The Gospel,—"No man can serve two masters, for either he "will hate the one and love the other, or else

1093, 1094 "he will hold to the one and despise the other: "ye cannot serve God and Mammon," even more so.—Before Anselm had risen from his throne, he was made to feel the weight of the chain he had placed upon himself, by receiving investiture from the King, as the foundation of his Archiepiscopal dignity. Ralph Flambard, stalking up the aisle, and defying all sense of propriety or dignity, served Anselm with process at the King's suit. Had the plea been properly cognizable before the Curia Regis, such a proceeding, upon a day of holy festivity, would have been harsh and disrespectful; but the matter related to Ecclesiastical rights, not coming within the jurisdiction of a secular tribunal.—Anselm had rendered himself the King's man before he became Archbishop, and now he might begin to anticipate and appreciate the persecution he would have to sustain.

Anselm consecrated, December 4, 1093; his metropolitan dignity being contentiously challenged by York.

An uncomfortable pause ensued, during which Anselm, keeping his state as Archbishop by Royal investiture, was, nevertheless, as to Orders, only a priest. Had he been a layman, the circumstances would have been still the same: the reader will bear this fact in mind with reference to the general question of lay investiture. The usage of the Church of England required that the Archbishop of Canterbury should be consecrated by the Archbishop of York, all the Bishops of England assisting. Archbishop

Thomas clung to his dignity, and did not feel anxious to accelerate the ceremony. Bishop Wulstan, the Senior Bishop, was confined by illness, and there were other causes of delay, trying to Anselm's patience. At length the appointed day arrived, the first Sunday after the Feast of St. Andrew, the second in Advent. 1093, 1094

1093. 4 December.

It was the duty of Maurice, Bishop of London, as Dean of the Province, to read the Schedule of Consecration. He could not forget his vexations, and he showed his temper by imposing the office, considered, and truly, as an honour, upon Bishop Walkeline of Winchester.—Walkeline began; and, having completed the introductory compellation, he continued—"It is well known, my brethren, how long the Church of Canterbury, the Metropolitan See of all Britain, hath been deprived of her Pastor." Soon as the words were spoken, Archbishop Thomas, who had been lying in wait for his quarrel, fired up, and challenged the metropolitan claim with exceeding acrimony. The ceremony was stopped until the meeting allayed the dissension, by striking out the words "totius Britanniæ Metropolitanus," and inserting "totius Britanniæ Primas," a concession insufficient to satisfy the mutual jealousies, afterwards extremely detrimental; for we reckon them amongst the principal causes, which deprived the English Church of her legitimate share in the temporal legislature.

Temporary compromise between the Primates.

1093, 1094

Dispute between Anselm and the Bishop of London concerning the Peculiar of Harrow.

§ 19. The dispute between the rival Metropolitans thus imperfectly settled, another unpleasant discussion ensued; Anselm's opponent being the Dean of his Province, the troubled Bishop of London. The Church of Harrow-upon-the-Hill, begun in Lanfranc's time, was now completed, and Anselm prepared to consecrate the edifice. Bishop Maurice continued anxiously on the watch to impede, or to prevent, if possible, the dismemberment of the Parish from his Diocese; and, when Anselm was there, two Canons of St. Paul's appeared and warned him off. One of the Bishop of London's chaplains disturbed and delayed the ceremony, by a petty and irreverent school-boy theft. Anselm made enquiry concerning his extraordinary jurisdiction: Bishop Wulstan helped him. It does not appear that any other proof except oral testimony was produced; but Anselm satisfied himself that he possessed the prerogative, and exercised the functions which stamped Harrow as a Peculiar; an immunity destroyed by statute whilst these pages are in hand. Anselm constantly asserted these assumed Archiepiscopal rights, without heeding the vexations they occasioned to Walkeline and other Bishops in "foreign" Dioceses; and the exempt parishes became fully established by law.

Dispute concerning the subjection of Lincoln to Canterbury.

§ 20. A third dissension accompanied the consecration of Robert Bloet, who, although for some time in possession of Lincoln, had not yet

received Episcopal Orders. Seven Bishops were summoned to assist the Primate; and, the season being concurrent with a Great Council, the Primores had an opportunity of attending. Anselm refused to complete the ordination, unless Bloet promised obedience to Canterbury, which he had objected to do. As Chancellor Bloet sought to be exonerated from the Primacy of York, this denial of Canterbury amounted to an intimation that he would not own any Primate whatever; and he was supported in his pretension by many of the Bishops and laity. However, on this occasion, Rufus decided in Anselm's favour, adding, lest his conduct should be misconstrued, the explanation, that though he hated the Archbishop, he did not wish to injure the See. 1093, 1094

These bickerings had the unhappy effect of alienating the Prelacy more and more from Anselm.

§ 21. The hostile defiance given by Courthose to his brother, of which more hereafter, was accepted, and William prepared to invade the Duchy with all his power; but he spent more than he robbed,—his wild extravagance being always in advance of his rapacity. He was in real need of money to carry on the war. Even Flambard's financial skill could not immediately replenish the exhausted treasury; and Rufus was, to no inconsiderable extent, thrown upon his subjects inclinations. Half bully, half beggar, threats 1094. Quarrel between Rufus and Anselm, arising out of the Benevolence proffered to aid the King in his expedition against Normandy.

1093, 1094 and solicitations were equally employed. The boundaries of prerogative and power were confused. Never did fierce royalty appear in a meaner plight than during the earlier eras of Anglo-Norman and Plantagenet history. Neither favour nor justice could be obtained by the empty hand. The indispensable accompaniment of any application to the Superior was a gift; a gift no longer considered as the token of respect and good will, but a contingent, and yet at the same time a regular, branch of the revenue. If the nuzzeer offered to Rufus did not satisfy his expectations, he kicked it away. The unlucky petitioner, prelate, noble, or courtier, became a marked man, a man out of the King's grace, against whom the King always bore a spite; until the *disgraziato* increased his bidding, and could purchase himself into the King's favour again.

Rufus compelled to seek Benevolences from his subjects.

It is from the whole contexture and combination of apparently insulated facts and personal anecdotes, that we discover the nature of a Constitution, far more clearly than by laws or charters. Much money could be wrung out by Royal prepotence: still, there were many cases in which the King was compelled, when seeking from his subjects what in after times was termed a Benevolence, to haggle and bargain—base terms; but these hagglings and bargainings are amongst the elementary processes by which the House of Commons, with its present attributes, was formed.

Rufus being placed under these exigencies, 1093, 1094
several of Anselm's friends, or those professing themselves to be his friends, advised him to offer a gift. Anselm, over persuaded, complied; partly to shew his good-will, partly in the ill-judged expectation that the proffer would purchase some degree of quiet for the performance of his duties. Upon his promotion, Anselm found himself in a state of poverty. This pressed upon him. He needed money:—wealth was not required to promote his own personal ease or comfort—but he wanted much for the execution of the trusts his station imposed. Farms and monasteries had been rifled and despoiled, tenants pillaged, monks dispersed, establishments ruined. However, he determined to tender five hundred pounds, being nearly three years' purchase of the Kentish possessions of the See, so far as a pecuniary value could be affixed to them. Rufus, grasping as he was, would in the first instance have been satisfied; but Anselm's enemies, rapidly increasing in number and in virulence, urged the King to spurn the paltry donation. Anselm's books were criticised, his acts censured, the world turning against him.—"It is a shame," said they, "that this Lombard, placed by you amongst the rulers of this land, whom you have enriched and exalted, who could well afford you a thousand pounds, or two thousand pounds, should make such a paltry proffer. Refuse it, shew

Anselm offers five hundred pounds.

Rufus, by the instigation of Anselm's enemies, requires a thousand pounds, and refuses the proffer.

1093, 1094 your displeasure; the Lombard will come cringing before you, happy to double the sum."

Anselm's proposal was unquestionably very liberal in proportion to his means, nor have we reason to suppose that any layman would have contributed with equal readiness. But the Bishops, (like the Jews,) were universally considered as the King's tributary bondsmen, and they themselves had probably a lurking feeling, that no individual amongst them ought to be more exempted from contribution than the others. Acting in all simplicity, Anselm was much surprised when he heard how the King refused his money. He forthwith repaired to the Presence, and repeated his proffer.—"It is the first gift, my Lord King, tendered by your Archbishop, but it shall not be the last. Is it not more seemly to accept a little from friendship, and from one who will often repeat the courtesy, than to make heavy exactions from a servile dependent? As a friend, command me always; as a slave, never."—Rufus angrily dismissed the Archbishop.

Anselm departed; at this period of his life he was somewhat vacillating, not always consistent; occasionally hesitating between right and wrong. He had erred against the Canons of the Church when he accepted investiture by the Staff, and his tender of the money resembled time-serving pusillanimity. But his humiliation had done its appointed work; and as he was quitting the

Chamber, the Scripture which the liturgical order of the Church had caused him to hear on that Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity when he entered his Cathedral,—"No man can serve two masters," came as a living voice upon his mind. The warning words told him, that he had been saved from temptation and rescued from shame. Had the money been received by Rufus, the gift would doubtless have been represented as the instalment of the price promised to the King for his promotion, the fulfilment of one of the usual simoniacal bargains which disgraced the prelacy. His strength was renewed. He was liberated, for ever, from the sinister influence of the King. The whole extent of the evils resulting from the abusive employment of the Royal Prerogatives, expanded, as it were, before him—he determined to repair the errors into which he had fallen. Rufus, abjectly greedy, measuring others by his own standard, sent fruitless messengers to the Archbishop, hoping he might be worried or frightened into compliance. Anselm had formed his resolution: he refused to make any gift whatever; but, lest he should be accused of avarice, he distributed the money in alms, with the hope that the charity might work for the good of the King's soul. 1093, 1094

§ 22. Henceforward, without losing any portion of his forbearance, courtesy, sweetness, or charity, Anselm became inflexibly firm in every

Anselm's encreasing troubles—He is abandoned by the other Bishops.

1093, 1094 act of duty, whilst every act of duty only encreased the troubles and persecutions he sustained. But worst of all, was the absence of aid and sympathy, degenerating into indifference, aversion, opposition, and hatred, which he encountered amongst the Hierarchy. When the contest began, he had only one useful friend, able, and willing to stand by him: Gundulph, firm as his own tower.—All the others useless, or worse: Wulstan Bishop of Worcester, debilitated by infirmity; Bishop Osbern of Exeter, decrepit and blind; Bishop Osmund of Salisbury, good and holy, but still dragged down by the weight of the Chancellor's robe; Archbishop Thomas of York, grudging the contested Primacy, impatient of any brother near the throne; Bishop Maurice of London, Harrow-upon-the-Hill constantly before him, whichsoever way he turned; Bishop Walkeline of Winchester, heartily wishing Anselm away from Mortlake; Bishop Limesey of Coventry, envying Canterbury's splendour; Bishop Bloet of Lincoln, surly under his enforced subjection; Bishop Robert of Hereford, to whom the King's star was always in the ascendant; Bishop Herbert of Norwich, and Bishop John of Bath, much afraid for their bargains; and Bishop William de St. Carileph of Durham, leader of the King's party, Prolocutor for the King, seeking with all his heart and soul to hunt Anselm out of the English Church, and to triumph as Primate of all Britain.

Chapter V.

Anselm's encreasing troubles, ending with his first exile.

1094—1097.

1094—1097

The privileges of the Church in the Anglo-Norman era, to be considered as the franchises of the people.

§ 1. If Hampden dying on the field and Russel on the scaffold, have earned their country's gratitude; let not the same proud tribute be denied to Anselm the Confessor and Becket the Martyr.—You worship the patriot Statesman by the votive statue; be consistent, honour the patriot Prelate also in the temple of worldly glory.—The people's voice was first heard by the Hierarchy. The privileges of the Church were the nation's constitutional rights: from the Church, our traditions of popular liberty have been primarily derived.

Government, in the age of pervading faith, was taught through theology; justice inculcated as a religious duty. Positive civilization, discarding the knowledge of God, treats government as an intellectual science; justice, a duty towards society. Their theory was directed to heaven; ours chains us to the earth. They in all things professed to look God-ward; we, man-ward. Translating nevertheless the policy of catholicity into the constitutional nomenclature of our present age, Church and Public, must, in all external

1094—1097 and secular relations, be received as equivalent or parallel terms. This, notwithstanding the antagonism of principle; for in both cases the community is held to possess transcendent rights, indefeasible by sovereign authority; and either theory, of Church or Constitution, is founded upon the basis of equality before the Law.

Exposition of the effects produced by the restraints imposed by the Conqueror upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Political freedom results from the aggregate of private rights:—the old English saying, "Every man's house is his castle," gives their summary. The utility of ecclesiastical authority is exactly proportionate to ecclesiastical independence. Never should the servants of the altar, when discharging their sacred functions, invoke, employ, or obey the secular arm. The Anglo-Norman monarch ruled despotically over the Church; and in order that we may appreciate some of the effects, resulting from the Conqueror's subjection of that authority to the Crown's irresponsible controul, we must briefly examine a passage from the jurisprudence of a subsequent era, opening the Folio in a chapter further down.

§ 2. It is the natural tendency of all sovereignty to disturb the equilibrium of the balance of justice. Monarchy overweights the scale by casting in crown and sceptre, ermine and coronet, riband and star: Democracy, bowie knife and rifle, blouse and blanket-coat, club and clouted shoon. "Cæsar never did wrong, but with just cause," conveys the excuse: an excuse

sometimes admissible in singular instances and extreme emergencies; but never, when tending to the prevention or denial of condign punishment or needful remedy. It is the impunity granted to the great, the powerful, the rich, the sycophant, the useful, the pander, the minion, which stings. In this country, the impartial administration of the law has perhaps received the utmost security which human institutions combined with human virtue can afford. Let it be acknowledged with thankfulness, not with pride, that no parallel can be found for the talent, the integrity, and the conscientiousness adorning and dignifying the judges of the land. Yet this consummation, the main compensation for the encreasing distempers of our social state, has been won after a hard struggle. Besides the servility, which, during a long period, disgraced the Bench, and the facilities of influence, intimidation, and corruption, during a longer, there were many prerogatives, or pretended prerogatives, enabling the King to baffle and defeat the Subject, when pursuing his legal remedy. 1094—1097

The King's power of exempting a defendant from civil process was peculiarly vexatious. So long as the Royal protection subsisted, no action or suit could be maintained. Complaints against this outrageous privilege fill the rolls of Parliament: and some restrictions were obtained, partly by decisions and partly by statute, but not effec- Protections, their abuse.

1094—1097 tual: writs of protection continued to be readily granted, and greatly abused, till checked by the acuteness of a wary Sovereign. Queen Elizabeth saw it was imprudent to incur the odium for the benefit of a favourite; and she granted few or none, giving a reason, as my Lord Coke tells us, in paronomasia or jingle—"he was no fit Subject to be employed in her service that was subject to other men's actions." Nevertheless, the idea lingered within the verge of Whitehall and St. James's; the last instance of the exercise of the prerogative being found under William the Third, whose Protection, granted to the notorious Lord Cutts, Dean Swift's Salamander, defended the bold Rake from being outlawed by his tailor.

Ecclesiastical jurisdictions needed for supplying the defects of the secular laws.

Annoying as such a prerogative must have been,—and we know how the public are galled by the very limited and perhaps justifiable privilege of Parliament—the grievance becomes imperceptible, when placed in comparison with the parallel paragraphs of the Anglo-Norman and Plantagenet paternal and ancestorial customs and usages, the customs and usages so dear to the Crown, by which the Church was enslaved. Ecclesiastical authority was, as we have before observed, both complementary and remedial,—essential, not merely in a spiritual sense, but for the ordinary transactions of society. Thus, as an additional example, the common law possessed no means by which the fulfilment of a contract

could be compelled; but the ecclesiastical law interposed, by considering the obligations as binding upon conscience, and then enforcing the engagement by excommunication.—We were circumstanced in England, like the other portions of Latin Christendom. Temporal law, imperfect, rigid, inflexible: Ecclesiastical, grounded upon the true principles of human nature, and self-adaptable to the progress and developement of human society. 1094—1097

According to the Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman law, some crimes were austerely punished; all trespasses against property: cattle-stealing, house-breaking, theft, robbery; so also treason, in all its branches, false coining, breaches of the forest-laws, and indeed, every offence against the Royal prerogative. As to all other misdeeds, the remedies were defective; nor could the suitor expect any justice in the Royal tribunals except by hazard: that is to say, when not perverted by the King's will. Rufus would, for love or money, excuse or sanction any wrong: whereas, the discipline of the Church had become impartially and effectually remedial, by imposing hard penances *pro salute animæ*, where secular tribunals gave either a most imperfect redress, or none. The Royal pardon could not absolve the sinner. "Execution," says Lord Coke, "is the life of the law;" therefore the restraints upon excommunication enabled a Rufus or a Plan-

1094—1097 tagenet to say—"My Earl, my Baron, my Sheriff, my Bailiff, my Knight, my Squire, my Routter, my Ribald, my Groom of my Stable, my Varlet of my Chamber, my Turnspit of my Kitchen, my Clerk of my Chancery, shall have full and free license and liberty to commit fraud, perjury, slander, violence, seduction, fornication, incest, adultery, manslaughter, poisoning, murder, without any punishment at all."

Impunity given to sins by the Royal restraints upon excommunication.

The spiritual magistracy palsied, individuals released from the punishment of individual transgression, and at the same time deprived of their individual remedies, each spiritual magistrate lying under a perennial prohibition, the aggregate jurisdiction of the Church was virtually destroyed. What is a Church without a Synod?—A democracy without a forum; an aristocracy without a senate; a federation without a congress; a constitutional monarchy without a parliament.—Under these circumstances, the Church, so far as administrative or coercive government is concerned, may exist as a congregational body, in parishes and dioceses, but not as a collective corporation, not as One. Besides the powerful political motives inducing Rufus to prohibit the holding of Synods, and entertained by him in common with the Conqueror, others actuated him, peculiar and personal. These assemblies were, in their nature, reforming Parliaments. In them resided the moral government of the commonwealth: always failing to

Ecclesiastical Councils, the guardians

satisfy the full requirements of Christianity, yet always striving. All the ecclesiastical legislatures, to the utmost of their knowledge and conscience, did endeavour to repress wickedness and vice, both in clergy and in laity, not sparing their own order; speaking out, and endeavouring to meet new evils by new remedies, the vigilance in which the very essence of sound legislation subsists. Never had England more needed this moral power; in addition to the natural and indigenous growth of depravity, a new crop of profligacy, so to speak, had been forced into rank luxuriance, by the violence of the Conquest, the immigration and settlement of foreigners, and, above all, the example of the King. Such a Monarch as Rufus had the same objection to an ecclesiastical Council that a thief has to the Old Bailey. He laboured to suppress the only Court in which he could be tried. He strove to silence the only censor by whom his licentiousness could be shamed; he would have been annoyed by any public testimony against sin. He could not have been controlled by ecclesiastical canons; but any voice of admonition wearied him. He hated a power which he could not entirely disregard and would not obey.

1094—1097 of the morality of the State.

§ 3. Anselm's appointment had not worked any change in the government proceedings: Rufus and Flambard pursued their systematic course. Abbey after abbey became vacant; the monks, dispersing themselves as vagabonds throughout

Encreasing depravity of the country.

1094—1097 the kingdom, encreased the general scandal by their dissolute lives. But the decay of the outward establishment of the Church, was far less grievous to Anselm than the encreasing prevalence of sin. Not merely Christianity, but even the natural restraints of morality, were fast dying away. Over and above the ordinary vices of human kind, England was infected by wickedness not to be named.

Effeminacy of Dress.

As is usual, outward fashions conformed to the dissoluteness of manners. Dress is a portion of man's moral physiognomy; and the loose lascivious feminine attire and long hair nourished by the young courtiers, after the fashion of damsels, "more juvencularum," denoted the most debasing pollution. No analogy can be needed from the codes of heathen legislators, still less any argument from Scripture, for the purpose of shewing that the Church is imperatively bound to enjoin modesty and sobriety of raiment. Whenever Shepherds and flock conjoin in believing the doctrines they profess; whenever Priests and Laity are really in earnest; whenever Teachers and Hearers take pleasure in religion, such injunctions are always given, and frequently obeyed. From the era of the Constitutions ascribed to the Apostles, there had been repeated canons, exhortations, and admonitions against excesses in apparel. Anselm had no power to institute any enquiries into the conduct of the King's Courtiers;

if he had, the authority would have been nugatory, 1094—1097
inasmuch as he could not proceed to excommunication: his hands were tied. But Anslem could not discharge himself from his own liability: what he saw, his office compelled him to notice; he was a Magistrate witnessing a breach of the peace, a Judge in whose presence a contempt of court is committed. Therefore when the Effeminates presented themselves for the penitential service of Ash-Wednesday, mocking the holy place and the holy offices by their garb, insulting the God of purity, he repelled them from the Altar. Many a Patristic homily, many a monkish sermon, many an ecclesiastical canon, sanctioned this mild rebuke; but it was not in homily, nor in sermon, nor in canon, that Anselm sought his warrant:—"The woman shall not wear "that which appertaineth unto a man, neither "shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all "that do so are an abomination unto the Lord "thy God;"—"Doth not nature itself teach you, "that, if a man have long hair, it is a shame to "him?"—"Abstain from all appearance of evil."—Is it needful to remind any of our readers, that whilst the Bible remains closed on the school-room shelf, the books ridiculing and reviling Anselm because he honoured the Divine law and the Apostolic precepts, are open on the nursery-table; read by the mother to the boy upon her knee?

§ 4. If ever Anselm was surprized into Anselm's conduct in

1094—1097 seeking to obtain permission to convene a Synod.

heat or vexation, the evenness of his cheerful mind was speedily restored: he united zeal and prudence, tact and simplicity. Fully aware that Rufus was always seeking occasions against him, it seemed as though he never discerned the King's swaggering frown, or heard the angry tone of the King's voice. He took no notice of the King's dyspathy, and resorted to the Court freely, as station authorized him and duty required.

1094. February. Council at Hastings, preparatory to the invasion of Normandy.

Hostilities between Robert and Rufus being renewed, the King prepared vigorously for a second unhappy campaign. Bishops, Prelates, and Peers, were summoned to meet at Hastings. Battle Abbey Church now rose completed; and the Conqueror's heir was called upon to witness the consecration of the edifice commemorating the Conqueror's triumph. Anselm appeared at the head of the Clergy: there also the Bishops, Gundulph of Rochester, Walkeline of Winchester, Ralph of Chichester, Osmund of Salisbury, John de Villula of Bath, and William de St. Carileph of Durham, who performed the ceremony. Decency required that the son's munificence should attend the completion of the father's vows. The token bestowed by Rufus was characteristic; he gave what did not belong to him, Churches and tithes.

This celebration occupied a portion of the King's enforced delay: on this occasion, the usual good auspices of Rufus failed him. It used to be remarked that the King never had to wait a fair

wind, so rarely was he contradicted by the elements; but now the wind was adverse, and continued in the same quarter during more than a month, blowing furiously. Prayers were offered up for his safety: whether on account of the navigation, or for some other cause, not clearly stated, there were reasons to apprehend danger. 1094—1097

It was the custom, that, upon the sailing of a royal expedition, the benediction should be given by a Bishop. For that purpose Anselm continued with the King in Hastings' Castle during the detention, entering freely, as far as he dared, into familiar and friendly conversation with the angry fretting King. Going to him one morning, Anselm sat down by his side, and opening the business he had so deeply at heart, entreated Rufus to permit the holding of a Synod, alleging as the imperative motive, the depravities spreading themselves throughout the realm; stating clearly the urgent duty of suppressing vice, and praying that the royal and sacerdotal authorities might co-operate for that good end.—"What," exclaimed the Scorner, "is to be gained for thee therein?"—"Nothing for me; yet much for thee and for the Lord."—Rufus commanded him to hold his tongue. Anselm, without noticing the rudeness, continued; he had made his venture, and could not recede. He besought the King to fill up the vacant Churches, and appoint proper superiors. "Would Lanfranc have dared

Rufus refuses to permit the convocation of an ecclesiastical Council.

1094–1097 to meddle with my Father? May I not do what I please with my own?"—was the King's reply. —"You do what you think fit with your farms, why should not I, with my Abbeys?" Anselm attempted an argument, but Rufus insultingly drove him out of the chamber: he had now cast off even the external deference which Anselm's rank imposed.

Anselm grieved deeply for Rufus, prayed for him,—could he gain, or regain the King's favour, he was willing to make any sacrifice, save that of conscience. He entreated the Bishops to be peace-makers: they communicated with the King, he gave them a surly but intelligible answer—and returning to Anselm they expressed their unanimous opinion, if he wished to obtain peace from the King, he must purchase pardon, and pay liberally.

The Bishops advise Anselm to compound with the King.

"Take our advice," said the Bishops; "do as we do in the like circumstances; give the King the five hundred pounds you lately offered, promise him as much more as soon as you can raise the money from your Tenants." Anselm explained that the Tenants being racked and ruined, he could not think of such a proceeding. No inconsiderable portion of his duty consisted in protecting his Gavelkinders and Villainage, not only from the undue exactions of the King's officers, but also of his own; as for the five hundred pounds, the money was gone; it had all been distributed in charity.

1094—1097

Modern comments upon Anselm's conduct.

For the last time, let us refer to the modern commentaries upon Anselm's history. Concerning this transaction it has been remarked: "Anselm was unwise enough to refuse; and when "his counsellors reminded him that it would only "be giving what he had proposed to give, he per-"severed in his refusal, upon the ground that "he had disposed thereof to the poor. Few minds "could be so weak as not to have discerned that "this impolitic parsimony, or rather perverse-"ness, could only exasperate William by an "unnecessary provocation."—Unwise in refusing to yield to extortion, or to exercise extortion—parsimony, in attempting to preserve the patrimony of the destitute—perverseness in bestowing the wealth upon those to whom it belonged.

The Bishops reported the result of their conference to the King.—"I hated him yesterday," exclaimed Rufus;—"I hate him more to-day; and I will hate him bitterly more and more to-morrow, and ever afterwards. I will never acknowledge him as Spiritual Father and Archbishop. I refuse his prayers, I curse his blessings. Let him wait no longer here to give his benediction; let him be off." There was no withstanding such insane violence—Anselm hastened away.

Reasons inducing Anselm to seek the confirmation of the Roman See.

§ 5. The position of the English Church had become singularly anomalous: no renunciation of the Roman See, no declared obedience to any Pontiff. We may collect, however, that

1094—1097 the English prelacy favoured Guibert, the Anti-pope. In the Continental Churches of Latin Christendom, the feud between Free-Kirk and Bond-Kirk ran so high, that neither party held any communion with the other. Anselm, having openly testified his recognition of Urban, did not proceed further; he abstained from insisting that the same acknowledgment should be made by his suffragans, contrary to the King's injunctions; but, for the present, he allowed the question to remain open, and continued to consort freely with them. Indeed, Anselm could scarcely act otherwise; nevertheless, there was a degree of uncertainty about his position, which it was very needful should be removed. Troubles and trials were thickening: the most arduous duties pressed upon Anselm: conscience, intellect, worldly prudence, bodily labour, all to be obeyed, consulted, exerted. His mind was not at ease: his position was not entirely legitimate: he had not yet received the full credentials required by public opinion for the unchallenged exercise of his archiepiscopal authority. Invested by the Sovereign, accepted by the Clergy, sanctioned by the Legislature, seized of his temporalities, consecrated, enthroned, there was one thing wanting, the confirmation of Rome.

The Pallium. In an earlier portion of our narrative, the ratification imparted to Archiepiscopal authority by the Pope's delivery of the Pallium, has been

noticed; but the subject, hitherto only collateral and incidental, now obtains a primary importance. Heraldry, employed as an adjunct to history, furnishes a species of technical memory; and the stole embroidered with the four crosses, constituting the armorial bearing of Archiepiscopal Canterbury, permanently betokens this branch of ancient Papal Supremacy. 1094—1097

It is very difficult to prove that the right existed in the earlier ages: it is quite impossible to deny that the claim became generally admitted after the Pontificate of Symmachus, who is first known to have bestowed the insignia upon Cæsarius of Arles. Like all other constitutional principles, it had grown up insensibly. Usage established the jurisdiction; and, according to the organization now fully developed in the Latin Church, the Pallium was accepted equally as the symbol and the confirmation of Archiepiscopal dignity. The Popes required that the Metropolitan should receive the Pallium in person from the Supreme Pontiff. In very special cases, dispensations might be granted, but only as exceptions from the rule. How sternly had not Hildebrand insisted upon Lanfranc's conformity thereto. The journey to Rome was most rarely excused. The Roman Court was poor and greedy—the officers of the Papal Chancery extortionate. The Church murmured and submitted. The recognition by the Supreme Pontiff prevented confusion in the Western Church: the conception of an indivisible Catho- 492—513 Pallium: first known example under Symmachus.

1094—1097 licity was so engrafted in men's minds, however imperfectly they may have carried out this principle, that, according to their theory, neither doctrine nor discipline could have subsisted, unless concurrently with the constant seeking after corporate unity.

The schisms in the Apostolic See rendered it the more needful that the ceremonial should be insisted upon, by which each Metropolitan representing his church, confessed himself subordinate to the paramount federal Superior. In the British Churches, the power and privileges of the insular Primate, the *Papa alterius orbis*, were greater than those enjoyed by any other Latin Prelate; nevertheless, Anselm did not feel firm in his station. When he leant upon his pastoral Staff, he saw the King's gauntletted hand still grasping it. That iron hand prevented his raising the Staff, and could at any time drag the Staff away. He could not get any dependable purchase against the King, excepting through the Pallium which would bind him to the Chair of St. Peter. Was he sure of obtaining this, his ultimate safeguard and protection? Would the Abbot of Bec-Hellouin's acknowledgment of Urban be accepted as an excuse for the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had accepted the investiture which the Church condemned?

1094, 1095. November, January. Rufus returns from Normandy.

§ 6. Rufus prosecuted his enterprize in Normandy, where his military and political energy and his lavish expenditure of money amongst

the Barons, prepared the country for Robert's removal; he then returned to England, recalled by the Cymric disturbances: and Anselm immediately resumed his exertions for the settlement of the Church. 1094—1097

Rufus lived almost wholly in his hunting grounds, none more pleasing to him than the New Forest, the Goblin's weald, the haunt of the Witches; his favourite Lodge being in the Lind-Wood, the Dragon's Wood, where the Verdurers still keep his great brown rusty stirrup through which the dogs were drawn. All who could not pass through the gauge being subjected to that painful mutilation, which, even during the generations when the duty of mercy to the beast was almost wholly forgotten, excited commiseration and horror. The forest residences formed by Rufus.

Such residences possessed multifarious attractions for Rufus: not only did they contribute to his delights, but they gave him greater scope for exercise of his power. Nowhere was a King of England so much a King, as within the Forest boundary. Separated from the Shireland, and governed by a special code of cruelty, administered by the royal officers, the precinct was inaccessible to the ordinary course of justice; whatever small protection the laws could afford, was here denied. Such localities—one third of England—tempted the commission of crime, affording concealment and promising impunity. No

1094—1097 one forgot the death of that son of the Conqueror whose life ended so mysteriously in the New Forest; and he who apprehended any enemy's treachery or vengeance might shrink from entering the gloomy shades:—even their myths excited the imagination to evil.

Anselm meets Rufus at Gillingham in Selwood

§ 7. Rufus, probably on his way to Wales, was stationed at Gillingham, four miles from Shaftesbury. In this now open and well-cultivated district, it would be difficult to imaginate the mighty Selwood forest, the *Coit-maur* of the Britons, once expanded over Somerset and Dorset, where Alfred concealed himself from the Danes, and whose coverts and shaws continued to be the haunt of felon and outlaw until the last century. Anselm, having required an interview, was directed to the Selwood by the King. He came readily, and without testifying any apprehension, requested permission that he might repair to Rome for the indispensable Pallium. "From which Pope?" —"From Urban."—"Urban," replied blustering Rufus, "has never been acknowledged by me. Neither in my father's time nor in mine, according to our royal usages, has any one been called Pope in our Realm, unless by our permission. He who deprives me of this prerogative, deprives me of my Crown. You shall have no place in my kingdom, unless I am satisfied that you are ready to renounce Urban at my pleasure." Rufus thoroughly felt what he spoke. His mighty

Rufus disallows Anselm's recognition of Pope Urban.

ambition, never to be satisfied, was constantly burning within him: he triumphed in a supremacy which those who ministered to his insatiate pride assured him belonged to no other King. 1094—1097

So far as Anselm was concerned, the question had been already decided. Abbot of Bec in Normandy, denizen of another State, he, in the conference at Rochester, expressly stipulated that he should not be compelled to depart from his obedience. It was the condition upon which he accepted the Archbishoprick; disputes had since arisen between him and the King, yet Rufus, by confirming him in the See, had ratified the treaty. All this he stated to Rufus; nevertheless, he would not hastily determine. Anselm therefore craved a respite until the Bishops and Peers of the Realm might decide, by their judgment, whether he could reconcile the duties of spiritual obedience to Pope Urban, and temporal allegiance to King William. If ruled in the negative, he should prefer resigning his dignity, and quitting the kingdom. A great Council, Bishops and Abbots, and all included in the comprehensive, yet obscure denomination of Nobility or Principes, was accordingly summoned to assemble on the second Sunday of Lent, the fifth of the Ides of March, in the Castle of Rockingham.

§ 8. The tangled forest of Rockingham, a continuation of the Derbyshire woodlands, was amongst the largest and most secluded in the

1095. 11 March. Great Council at Rockingham.

1094—1097 kingdom. At a much later period, this dreary weald measured thirty miles in length. The Castle, raised by the Conqueror, had been planned by the cautious Sovereign quite as much for the purpose of coercing the inhabitants, as for the protection of the glowing furnaces. Echoes of facts and opinions, the mediæval traditions, represent the forgemen as a peculiarly barbarous class: had Anselm been faint-hearted, he might have dreaded placing himself in a spot where the executioners of any misdeed or cruelty might be so readily found. The Council was opened in the Castle Chapel. Anselm entered, accompanied by one with whom we are well acquainted, faithful Eadmer, his Secretary; but none of the other Prelates can be seen, all closetted, together with the Nobles, Flambard and the Clerks of the Chancery, William de Saint Carileph, Bishop of Durham, the King's Prolocutor, and the King, arranging the impeachment against the Primate.

When they came forth, Anselm addressed the whole assembly, wisely and temperately, though deeply moved, pathetically beseeching them to give him counsel, how he might satisfy the conflicting claims of the Apostolical See and the Crown. But more specially does he appeal to his brethren for guidance. It is a hard trial for him;—he earnestly seeks to render obedience to the King; he never will violate his obedience to the Successor of Saint Peter, the Supreme Pontiff, the universal

Father of Christendom.—The Bishops, who entirely identified themselves with William de St. Carileph their leader, answered unanimously;—Archbishop Anselm must act upon his own responsibility; they were fully aware of his prudence and goodness; he did not need their advice, they could give him none. If, without any condition or stipulation he submitted to the King's will and pleasure, they would convey his determination to the Sovereign; nevertheless if he thought fit, they would as readily report that he persisted in his obedience to the Apostolical See.—A Convocation in the Tudor age could not have shewn more ductility. 1094—1097

§ 9. Rufus adjourned the debate until the following or second day. Secluded as the situation was, a great multitude nevertheless assembled. Anselm took his seat in the midst of the Proceres, surrounded by the anxiously attentive crowd. Again he asked his brethren for their counsel—"As we answered you yesterday, we answer you to-day. Submit yourself purely and unreservedly to the King's will and pleasure, and then we will give you such useful counsel as we can afford; but if you expect any advice from us upon the ground of faith or religion which can frustrate the King's wishes, you seek in vain."—Old legal etymologists tell you that the name of the "Coroner" is derived from the "Corona," the encircling crowds who witness

1095. 12 March. The second day's debate. The Bishops advise Anselm again to submit to the King's will.

1094—1097 his proceedings. These imaginary derivations often arise from a correct conception. They return to the truth, though they do not start from it. Wherever the rights of the people are concerned, publicity has always been an inherent principle in England.—Shame thought the "Corona," and transferring their feelings to the cause of them, the spectators fancied that the Bishops hung down their heads and looked conscious of the shame.—Not they.

The Bishops combine against Anselm.

§ 10. Excepting personal danger, which he defied, Anselm had nothing to fear, and looking up spiritedly and boldly, he addressed the assembly. Sternly rebuking the Prelates and the Baronage, the Shepherds of the Christian flock, the Princes of the people, for their base servility in refusing to give any advice except according to one man's command, he testified his belief in the sacred and immutable appointment of the Papacy; his speech being an ample commentary upon the text, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." Whilst he declared that in all spiritual things he would obey the Successor of St. Peter, yet, in all belonging of right to the King's dignity, he would with equal fidelity render service to the utmost of his power.—The members of the Council rose in tumultuous confusion. The hall resounded with clamour, shouting, and railing against Anselm, but no answer. Anselm stood, deserted: none

would venture to report his speech to the King. 1094—1097
Undaunted, Anselm presented himself to the Sovereign, repeated his declaration, and immediately quitted the Presence.

Rufus raged with maniacal fury, upbraiding Bishops and Peers because they could find no answer to Anselm. A long and stormy discussion ensued, begun in the hall and concluded in the royal chamber. The Bishops, preceded by William de St. Carileph, a few Peers accompanying them, came out again to Anselm; expostulations, persuasions, threats, constituted their argument, if such it can be called.—"What good," said they, "can you hope for from Urban, if you offend the King? Renounce your obedience to him; behave as it beseems an Archbishop of Canterbury; acknowledge your error, promise to obey the King's will, and you may keep your Archbishoprick. Seeking to deprive our Sovereign of the glory of his Crown, you have the whole kingdom against you. Whoever deprives the King of his prerogatives, deprives him of Crown and Kingdom."

Evening drew on; Anselm, very tired, craved an adjournment till the following day. The Bishops thought his constancy was failing, and determined to drive the matter home; they rejoined the King, advising him to deny any further respite, and thus bring the matter at once to a conclusion. The Bishop of Durham, the manager

1094—1097 on the part of the King, declared he would undertake that the Archbishop should be at once compelled, either wholly to renounce Urban's obedience, or resign his Staff. Rufus gave him full power to act, satisfied either way. If Anselm abjured Urban, he would stand disgraced before the world by his apostacy: and, losing his character, lose all influence: if he surrender the Archbishoprick, then we are delivered from him altogether.

Anselm impeached by the Bishop of Durham.

§ 11. Proceedings being thus settled, St. Carileph came forth heading the Bishops, and accompanied by some of the lay Peers and others, Clerks of the Chancery, to support him; he now propounded the formal charge or impeachment in the King's name.—"Thou hast deprived the King of his dignity, by acknowledging Odo Bishop of Ostia as Pope, in his kingdom of England; and having thus deprived him of his dignity, thou seekest a delay, in order to find arguments to justify thy wrong. First reinstate the King in his Empery, then sue for time to answer."—More followed about the King's unparalleled supremacy, such as no other Sovereign possessed. The Bishop of Durham's address was vehement, angry, and disrespectful; but neither the tone of the charge, nor the terms employed, threw Anselm off his guard. From first to last, his conduct during this dispute was singularly cautious. Throughout, he avoided any

reasoning, which, supposing he failed in his particular case, might enfeeble or injure the Papal cause, taking the greatest care to guard against any measure whereby Urban might be brought to trial in Anselm's person. He was defending his own conduct, and not appearing as an advocate for Urban's legitimacy. The Papal supremacy he assumed to be a fact incontrovertible; but, at the same time, he scarcely argued against the prerogatives which Rufus claimed. 1094—1097

Anselm laboured to take the question narrowly, to deal with it, as far as practicable, upon personal grounds. He mainly depended upon the terms made when he accepted the See, that his submission to Urban should continue undisturbed. He became Archbishop, subject to that stipulation: why was the compact to be violated? Anselm raises the point, that an Archbishop of Canterbury is only amenable before the Pope.

Anselm heard patiently, and answered shortly: —"Let him come forward who wishes to prove that because I will not renounce my obedience to the Supreme Pontiff of the Roman Church, the Pope of Rome, I am therefore violating my fealty and oath to the King; and in the name of the Lord, he will find me ready to answer, as I ought, and where I ought."—The Bishops, in their haste and vehemence, did not at first understand the full import of Anselm's words, *Sicut debeo et ubi debeo;* but when they retired to the King, and consulted with him, they then became fully aware of the important point which Anselm's *sicut* and

1094—1097 *ubi* had raised. It was substantially a plea to the jurisdiction, a plea in abatement. The accusation affected Archbishop Anselm in his ecclesiastical character. The Great Council was utterly incompetent to censure or punish the Primate, the highest functionary, under the Sovereign, in the empire. None but a Pope could pass judgment upon an Archbishop of Canterbury. Therefore the Reformed Church of England does not possess any tribunal which can exercise authority over the Primate, as was evidenced in the most anomalous proceedings, occasioned by the misfortune which clouded the concluding years of Archbishop Abbott—the involuntary homicide at Bramzill Park.

Anselm's cause supported by the public.

During these proceedings, the multitude, their excitement increasing, continued crowding and pressing into the Hall. No place could be fancied in England less propitious to Anselm than Rockingham. The Castle, filled with the King's knights and soldiers, foresters, forest-officers, forest-swains, and churls, and the swarthy, reeking ferocious forgemen; these composed the public, watching Anselm's proceedings, and making his case more and more their own; for their interests were involved in his. He was not a mere handsome pious pageant, a venerable stately beau-ideal of a Prelate, a fine mitre on his head, a rich embroidered cope on his back, and a tall gemmed crozier in his hand, but a fagged, wor-

ried, hard-working, dusty-footed labouring man in this weary world, transacting his business amongst the world for the benefit of the English people at large, but most of all, the poor—their doctor, their lawyer, their advocate, their champion, their defender.—"Fearing the tyrant," this is Eadmer's expression, "none had yet dared display any sympathy with Anselm."—The feelings, hitherto silent, could not be any longer restrained; and one, stepped forward, to declare the indignation of the multitude—a rude Soldier, who, advancing to Anselm, knelt before him:—"My Lord and Father," said he, "through me, thy children beseech thee, let not thy heart be troubled, and be not afraid;" adding examples of comfort suggested by Holy Writ, encouraging him to persevere in patience and in constancy. Few were the words he spake, but by them Anselm fully understood that the people were on his side;—"and much did we rejoice and receive consolation," says Eadmer, "recollecting the Scripture,—'*Vox populi vox Dei.*'" Possibly some of the Apocryphal writings, current in the middle ages, may contain the text, undiscoverable in the Bible. The source, however, remains untraced; and Anselm's trial first records the sentiment which has since become the rallying cry of political liberty, though involving a far deeper truth than is perceptible to the minds of those by whom the maxim is most frequently proclaimed. 1094—1097

1094—1097 In the Council, the debates continued virulently and violently.—"What shall I do? Were I to attempt," says our reporter, Eadmer—literally our reporter, for he was present during the whole session—"to describe the threats, contumelies, false and foul language with which the Archbishop was assailed, I should be judged an exaggerator."—No decision was yet obtained. The Bishops staggered: Rufus, teazed and exasperated, stuttering, stammering with anger, scolded at the Prelates with impotent rage. "What is this?" said he, "did not you pledge yourselves that you would deal with him according to my will, and drive him away?"—The Bishop of Durham, baffled and confounded, answered foolishly and weakly: he was completely shaken: it seemed as if he had lost his wits. But darkness had come on, and, nearly worn out, he proposed exactly that measure which he had before vehemently objected to, an adjournment till the morrow.

After they broke up, Anselm retired to his lodging, King and Bishops re-assembled in the Royal Chamber. Rufus became more calm; William de St. Carileph recovered his self-possession, and he and the other Bishops continued till a very late hour in consultation with Rufus, settling their ulterior proceedings.

1095. 13 March. The third day's debate.—The § 12. On the third morning, the debate was resumed. Rufus came down in person; and the Bishop of Durham, pursuant to the resolution

they had adopted the preceding night, declared the Royal ultimatum—Unless Archbishop Anselm do obey the King's will and pleasure, let ring and staff be taken from him, and he expelled from the kingdom. 1094—1097

King declares that Anselm will be deprived, if disobedient.

The Episcopal Bench listened silently. The Barons, the lay members of the Church, unanimously answered, "Not content." Rufus burst into another paroxysm of rage, the more indecent, because ineffectual.—"What will please you, if this does not please you? As long as I live, I will have no equal in my kingdom. Why did you let me commit myself by engaging in this dispute with Anselm, if you felt his cause to be so strong?"—And then, swearing a great oath, "unless you condemn him, I will condemn you." Robert de Mellent quietly answered, that they had nothing to say. "My Bishops," exclaimed fierce Rufus, turning towards the bench, where he reasonably expected to find more pliancy, "what say you?"

Now arose the consideration of the plea, the *sicut*, and the *ubi*, and when they faced the obstacle, they found it insuperable according to law. The Bishops began by expressing great sorrow;—but wherefore grieved they? for the servitude of the Church, for their Archbishop's tribulation? No; simply because they did not possess the power of carrying out the King's wishes.—Anselm, said the Prelates, is not merely Primate

The Bishops acknowledge that they have no power to deprive an Archbishop;

1094—1097 of the English Church, but of Scotland, Ireland, and all the islands around. We are Anselm's suffragans: were even manifest guilt proved against our Archbishop, we cannot sit in judgment upon him."—"Well then," demanded Rufus, "what remains? If you are unable to condemn him, cannot you abjure his authority?" "Certainly,"—answered the Bishops: unanimous would they have been, but for the one dissenting voice of Gundulph, who alone never swerved,—"Certainly, since our King commands."

but they agree to withdraw their obedience.

"Then," replied Rufus, "do so at once: bring him to shame, universally abandoned, universally despised. I will begin first in my empire, revoking my protection, renouncing him as Archbishop and spiritual Father."

Question and reply had probably been previously concocted by William de St. Carileph. It is difficult to understand how those who fully acknowledged Anselm as their lawful superior, could justify their withdrawal of obedience from him; but the ingenious sophistical distinction was sufficient to satisfy their complaisant conscience. The regular Clergy, who might be more stiff, were to be consulted: the Bishops retired in conference with the Abbots, and then returned, all assenting to the King's proposition, which they declared to Anselm. He answered amicably, expostulating rather than complaining, but renewing his promise of affection and fidelity to the King.

No attention was paid to Anselm; the Clergy detached themselves from their Prelate, and the Primate of the British Churches was all but deposed. All but;—for the vote of the Clergy did not bind the temporal Peers, the Principes, who, throughout the proceedings, acted as a distinct estate; and Rufus again addressed them, requiring their concurrence, almost as a matter of form. But Rufus drew the bow too hard; the string snapped in his hand. Strongly as they might be tempted, nay, supported, by the Clergy's example, and urged by their wild despotic monarch, the Baronage refused: unanimously, decidedly, peremptorily. "Anselm is our Archbishop, the head of the Christendom of our land; and we, as Christians, can in nowise decline his magistracy." 1094—1097

§ 13. Thus the great transaction returned exactly to the point whence it had started. Religious feelings had some influence amongst the Barons: self, self-interest, self-defence, a great deal more. The attack made by Rufus upon the Archbishop's station, the Great Council's Premier member, he who judged the succession, he who administered the Sovereign's oath, concerned them all. As a Baron, Anselm was not put upon his trial; as a Bishop, they had no power to judge him; as a Peer, would they allow him to be deprived of his seat by the King's absolute will? This dispute between King and Primate involved the most intricate of all constitutional ques- Proceedings brought to a stand by the non-compliance of the Lay Peers.

1094—1097

tions, the enforcement of the Sovereign's responsibility. Supposing an Archbishop, exercising his high political functions, came in collision with a King seeking to violate the national compact, was he to be deposed by the Royal will, either acting nakedly, or by the more dangerous and insidious machinery of a feeble or corrupted Hierarchy? In an Archbishop's person, the privileges of every rank and order might be assailed.

The Bishops upbraided by the people.

Ferociously angered by the opposition of the Barons, Rufus dared not shew his temper: the times were perilous; but the contrast between the Lay Peers' firmness, and the slavish alacrity of the Clergy, gave a new impulse to popular feeling. The surrounding multitude, knights, soldiers, forgemen, forest swains, pelted the Prelates with opprobrious epithets. Cries of Judas Iscariot, Herod, Pilate, indignantly applied to this or that Bishop by name, testified the disgust they had inspired and the contempt they had incurred.

Rufus, insists that the Bishops shall make themselves individually responsible for their renunciations.

Yet their degradation was not complete. When the Bishops appeared before the King, they were compelled to increase their own confusion. Not satisfied with their collective assent to his proposition, he put the question of the renunciation of obedience to them again, separately and singly, so that he might fix them with individual and personal responsibility; and, employing persuasion and menace, he again required their votes. Gundulph continued unchangeable, nei-

ther seduced nor scared. Many complied without qualification or hesitation: those who renounced the Archbishop out and out, received immediately signal marks of favour. Rufus called them up as his friends, caused them to sit by his side. Others faintly explained that their renunciation of the Archbishop, though complete, was in pursuance of the King's command: a quibbling subterfuge, tending to throw the responsibility upon their master, but without exonerating themselves. 1094—1097

Rufus stormed, commanding the Bishops to expect judgment and condemnation: a threat, easily translated into its true meaning. Skulking into a retired corner of the building, they consulted what they should do. Not much consideration was required: the course was clear, and they gladly adopted the usual mode of pacifying their despot, by submitting to heavy fines. Thus, as usual, the waverers fared the worst, bearing the largest share of obloquy, purchasing, by dereliction of duty, vexation, contumely, and worldly loss.

§ 14. Anselm, having this fresh testimony of the Bishops' untrustworthiness and debility, now determined to abandon the contest and the kingdom, and besought the King to grant his passport. What Anselm asked, he meant, and nothing more: nevertheless the request placed Rufus in perplexity. Much as he wished to be rid, once and for all, of the annoyance, he feared the scandal consequent upon Anselm's departure,—the Bri- The further prosecution of the business respited.

1094—1097 tish Primate despised and persecuted, roaming penniless from land to land, a houseless wanderer.

Without in the least desisting from his main purpose, Rufus altered his plan; he had ascertained that the anticipated victory against Anselm could not be won by absolute force: management was needed, devices already in progress to be matured, and time to be gained. The royal presence was required in the tribunal and the field; the realm being disturbed by conspiracies and wars, as will be told hereafter. Therefore Rufus was very willing to avail himself of the intervention offered by the Lay Peers, some Prelates assisting. A truce was concluded, that, until the next Whitsuntide, matters should continue as they were. Anselm retired to Mortlake, most anxious to restore tranquillity, though he disdained to purchase any temporary respite by compromising his principles: and Rufus was enabled to employ all his power for the suppression of a rebellion again threatening his Crown and life, and the subjugation of the enemy.

Disgrace and death of William de St. Carileph.

§ 15. We shall henceforth hear nothing more of him who has hitherto stood forward so prominently as Anselm's persecutor, Anselm's enemy, the chief leader of the royal party, the expectant successor to Anselm's Primacy, the aspirant to the chief dignity under the Sovereign in the realm.

William de St. Carileph, on the first morning of the opening debate at Rockingham Castle, fully

anticipated his prize; but that debate's three anxious days brought his varied, active, energetic career to a close. The Bishop's zealous advice and strenuous co-operation, unrestrained by any scruples of conscience, or any feeling of duty excepting towards the Crown, had given such powerful assistance to the designs which Rufus entertained against Anselm, that, inasmuch as the business had not proceeded satisfactorily, Rufus, according to the usual custom of Princes, (say, rather, of mankind,) was fully justified in casting all the blame upon the minister. William de St. Carileph received a summons to appear before the Curia Regis as a delinquent. Grievously ill, he requested a respite. Rufus rudely and cruelly refused the strictly lawful essoign, *de malo lecti*, which, according to our ancient jurisprudence, the meanest defendant might claim as a matter of right,—swearing the excuse was a sham. The Bishop was compelled to follow the Court, in which he had recently paraded so proudly, but he sank under the combined effect of vexation and disease; for when he reached Windsor, he took again to his bed, from whence he never rose. Anselm diligently and affectionately attended him, received his confession, administered the last sacraments, prayed with him and for him. The Bishop's corpse was interred in Durham Cloister, before the Chapter-house door: St. Carileph, though urged, refused to allow his

1094—1097

1094—1097 decaying body to intrude within Saint Cuthbert's towering Minster, the noble monument which he had raised. The memory of his good deeds, when he was dead, predominated over his errors. Happy in this, that the harm he intended was overruled; the good remained and remains.

Embassy dispatched by Rufus to Rome for the purpose of winning the Pope over and circumventing Anselm.

§ 16. During the discussions which ensued since the Gillingham conference, Rufus and his Cabinet, Flambard and the Chancery or Chapel party, had been diligently working to circumvent Anselm by a complicated artifice. Could the Papal interest be secured in the King's favour, the ground would be cut away from under Anselm's feet. The intimate connexion between the Anglican and Gallican Churches, the latter of which had always acknowledged Odo of Ostia, gave him a better claim in this country than Guibert. Neither of them had addressed any direct solicitation to the British Churches, but it was obvious that he who received the support of so influential a portion of Christendom, would obtain a great advantage over his competitor. Cisalpine and Transalpine Potentates had been engaged in direct hostility against the Chair of St. Peter, but the insular Kingdom of Ina and of Canute was recollected in Rome only as an affectionate and protecting power. Who could pass under the walls of Santo Spirito in Saxia, the *Hospitale Anglorum*, without being reminded of the ancient union between England and the Catho-

lic Metropolis of Christendom? King of England and Pope of Rome would equally profit by a concordat; and Master Gerard and Master William Warlewast — foreign missions on State affairs being peculiarly within the functions of the Chancery—were despatched as the King's Envoys to the Apostolic See. 1094—1097

Diplomatic functions of the Chancery or Royal Chapel.

The Masters were instructed to ascertain which Papal competitor might be most conveniently treated with and accepted as legitimate Pope; and then to induce the acknowledged Pontiff, by those ways and means which wealthy England could well employ, to transmit the Pallium, not specifically to "Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury," but anonymously or generally to "The Archbishop of Canterbury," placing the insignia at the King's disposal. Thus, when Rufus should succeed in expelling Anselm from See and Kingdom, he might nominate some creature of his own, who, invested with the Pallium, would be supported equally by Royal and by Pontifical authority.

Rufus plans to obtain the disposal of the Pallium.

The object of this embassy was intended to be a profound secret, and the secret was fairly well kept. Few of the details oozed out, but the public supplied the absence of particulars by a ready supposition,—English gold and silver have been abundantly flowing from the Winchester Hoard into the Quirinal Treasury, and whatever influence gold and silver can produce, will be adverse to the Archbishop.—This suspicion was never

Walter, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, appointed Papal Legate to the English Court.

1094—1097 dispelled; and whilst Urban, like all the Popes of his age, must be completely absolved from the slightest suspicion of pecuniary corruption, the same immunity cannot be extended to the Papal Court. It is highly probable that some largesses, some compliment, some expedition money, swelled the lean pouches of Datary and Prothonotary.

The fragmentary Fasti of the Roman Diocese, which must always be distinguished from the Roman Patriarchate, scarcely give any information relating to Walter, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, beyond what they obtained from our Anglo-Norman sources. It appears from the latter, that, high in Urban's confidence, the Cardinal was appointed Legate at the English Court, and he proceeded hither, accompanied by Master Gerard and Master William Warlewast. Both these Envoys executed their mission highly to the satisfaction of the Crown. We shall soon congratulate Master Gerard upon his preferment; and in due time Master Warlewast also, who, though nephew of Bishop Walkeline, had to wait his turn somewhat longer.

The Legate's arrival and conduct: he neglects Anselm—and treats with the King.

§ 17. The Roman Cardinal and his attendants land at Dover. Imagine the busy expectations excited by their appearance; but the object of the legation continues involved in profound mystery. —Not a word escaped concerning the Pope's intentions. The Legate avoided Anselm entirely, seeming as if he refused to take notice of

Anselm's individual or official existence, passing secretly through Canterbury without stop or stay. Cardinal Walter made directly for the Court; and, journeying to the Palace, he was honourably received by the King, whose confidence he speedily gained. 1094—1097

Many and frequent were their meetings and conferences. So much of the negociation as pleased Rufus, was permitted to transpire, and the general import became known. It was soon bruited about, and the diffusion of the intelligence could have been effected only through the King or his Ministry, that the Cardinal Legate, intrusted with the Pallium, had ignored Anselm altogether. Not making any attempt whatever on the Archbishop's behalf, nor employing any endeavour for the purpose of pacifying the contention, subsisting, with so much detriment and sorrow to the Head of the British Hierarchy. Nay, the Legate, associating with Anselm's enemies and ill-wishers, gave a ready ear, and perhaps a ready belief, to their reports and illustrative comments. It is said that the Cardinal expected a handsome donation would be bestowed by Anselm's prudence or prospective gratitude. This accusation is not clearly established; nevertheless the Cardinal's coldness towards Anselm produced the same effect as animosity, and he was evidently a tricky man and insincere. Great jealousies subsisted between

1094—1097 them. It was very needful that the Legate of the Pope of Rome, and the *Papa alterius orbis*, should meet and consult upon the state of the English Church, but no meeting took place. Each blamed the other as the cause of the neglect. The Cardinal censured Anselm for his toleration of the Guibertines, and even expressed doubts whether the Prelate who had submitted to lay investiture, held his See by canonical authority. Loud complaints resounded against Rome's corruption; Rome, betraying right and justice, Rome abandoning Anselm to his oppressor. People enquired,—what comfort, what hope, what consolation can we ever obtain from Rome?

Cardinal Walter was wholly employed with Rufus on the Papal affairs, labouring to procure the recognition of Urban. Indirect charges are made against the Cardinal, as though he artfully and deceitfully won the King over, by engaging that the Papal authority should support the Royal pretensions against the Primate. There is no proof of this assertion: Rufus, however, certainly construed the Cardinal's alienation from Anselm and obliging language and conduct towards himself into an engagement that the Pope would co-operate with the Crown in all respects.

Rufus acknowledges Urban, but fails in obtaining any reciprocity from the Legate.

He agreed to accept Urban as the legitimate Pontiff.—"Let Urban," was the King's declaration, "be received as Apostolical Father, and obeyed as St. Peter's successor."—Rufus had

done his part, and now fully expected equivalent concessions from the Legate; but the calm, subtle, Italian, neither embarrassed nor compliant, drew back, and stood still. Rufus, with his utmost vehemence and talent, urged that the Legate should concur in Anselm's deposition. Any sum of money would he give to Cardinal Walter individually, or as an annual subsidy or tribute to the Roman See. But Cardinal Walter continued immoveable. Rufus now discovered that he had again marred his own game. By acknowledging Urban, he surrendered the position which gave him the command of the field. The kingdom was in Urban's obedience; the chief pretence for continuing Anselm's persecutions, taken away. 1094—1097

§ 18. However little Rufus might be inclined to respect Holy Festivals, he was obliged to keep Whitsuntide as a State holiday. He never approached the Altar, yet he needs must recollect the season, when constitutional usage directed the Sovereign to assemble his Council, and wear his Crown. Rufus, always clinging to the forest, selected Windsor as the locality for the convention of Clergy and Nobility. It will be recollected that the further discussion of the points at issue had been postponed till Pentecost, but Anselm did not repair to Windsor, he continued at Mortlake; and Rufus, being, perhaps upon the instigation of Walkeline Bishop of Winchester, 1095. Whitsuntide, 13-20 May. Council at Windsor. Rufus willing to come to terms.

1094—1097 unwilling to treat with him there, Anselm repaired to Hayes, Hayes in Eldthorn Hundred, whose name carries us back to the earliest age, when the popular Court, the Folkmoot, assembled round the ancient tree. Rufus, having much urgent business to transact, was, under existing circumstances, willing to convert the truce into a peace, until a good occasion should occur for renewing hostilities. He communicated with the Bishops; and a numerous deputation proceeded to Hayes, and treated with the Archbishop on behalf of the Sovereign.

Conference at Hayes; the Bishops try to induce Anselm to purchase the King's favour.

As usual, money became the burthen of the song. Hints and inuendoes, not attended to by Anselm, introduced an open demand. The Bishops consistently displayed their laxity and poorness of spirit.—Anselm, as consistently, his inflexibility and prudence. Had there been no better motive, he knew, that, once entrapped into a corrupt bargain, his influence would be wholly lost. The Pallium, the Bishops told him, was now in his power through the King's intervention.—"Never will I so degrade my Lord the King as to render his friendship an article of merchandize."—"Nay then," returned they, coaxing Anselm argumentatively, "consider the matter in the right point of view; recollect that, pursuant to the King's gracious request, the Pallium has been actually brought to you from Rome. You will obtain the Papal investiture without personal

trouble or cost. Surely there will be no impropriety in your placing at the King's disposal a sum equal to the expense of the long journey to Rome, for by his kindness that disbursement has been saved."—This ingenious calculation failed to produce any effect.—"I will give nothing,"—answered Anselm. Rufus was now compelled to abandon his hope of profit. A formal reconciliation took place, and the Archbishop was received into the royal favour, and permitted to exercise his functions with the King's approbation. Still, more delays. Rufus was strongly advised to insist that Anselm should receive the symbol from the royal hand. And why should he not? Why should not the Pallium be delivered by the Sovereign, in the same manner as ring and staff?

1094—1097

Formal reconciliation with Rufus.

Having quitted the Court, Anselm was overtaken upon the road by good Bishop Osmund, and by Robert de Losinga, Bishop of Hereford: sad, conscience-smitten, repenting them of their conduct towards Anselm in renouncing their canonical obedience at Rockingham, they implored his pardon. The trespass was not so much against him as against his office: he would not delay for a moment; so taking them into a little church close to the wayside, he granted them the absolution they required. Bishop Wulstan was dying; and when the Bishop of Hereford was at the Court, he saw the old man in a dream, urging him to repair instantly to Worcester, that they

Osmund Bishop of Salisbury, and Robert Bishop of Hereford seek and obtain absolution from Anselm.

1094–1097 might meet once more in the flesh, for Losinga's end was also near. It were long to tell how the warning was fulfilled. Wulstan's death was followed by that of Losinga: his Astrolabe was broken, his calculations ended. Gerard, the Clerk of the Chancery, was immediately nominated to the vacant See by Rufus; and Anselm performed the ceremony of consecration. As for Durham, it came into the possession of the Crown. During three or four years the revenues were received by Flambard: at the end of which period, the Receiver was installed in the great Palatine See of England.

1095. 26 June. Death of Losinga, Bishop of Hereford: he is succeeded by Master Gerard.

1099. Flambard appointed to Durham.

The Cardinal Legate was slack in supporting Anselm; nevertheless, the latter firmly advocated the Papal rights, and utterly refused the Pallium, if it were to come from Rufus. A compromise enabled Anselm to maintain the freedom of the Church, without offending the dignity of the Crown; and Cardinal Walter evaded a direct approbation of the Prelate who had infringed the Canons of the Church, by accepting Royal investiture. In solemn procession, the sacred Vestment, enclosed in a silver casket, was borne by the Legate into the Cathedral of Canterbury, and placed upon the High Altar. There the Cardinal left the consecrated insignia; Anselm advanced barefooted, kissed the stole devoutly, and invested himself therewith as bestowed by St. Peter's hand. This is one of the transactions in which outward

1095. 10 June. Anselm, pursuant to a compromise, invests himself with the Pallium.

forms and punctilios are the very essence of the thing. The Pallium embodied the principles asserted and contested by the respective parties. If at this juncture Rufus had prevailed, so as to have the symbol at his disposal, could one precedent have been quoted of the Archbishop obtaining the spiritual garment from the Sovereign, the independence, or rather the existence, of the Hierarchy would have been destroyed. 1094—1097

§ 19. The settlement of affairs in Normandy gave full scope for the activity of Rufus, and often withdrew him from England; but no respite for Anselm. All the simulated good will passed away: Flambard was diligent and ever-present, Rufus implacable. Vexations and persecutions were renewed and continued; some heavy, some petty, directed against Anselm's friends, his property, himself. There was no possibility of keeping pace with Flambard's ingenuity and the King's greediness: every compliance became merely the excitement and incentive to further demands. 1096, 1097. Continued vexations and persecutions sustained by Anselm.

Rufus, in order to raise the consideration for which Robert hypothecated his paternal inheritance, with small chance of redeeming the mortgage, swept away from the Churches the consecrated vessels, thuribles, candelabra, lamps and shrines, indeed every object of value, to the utmost of his power. The bounties which, upon his accession, had so rejoiced Monk and Sacris- Churches plundered by Rufus.

1094—1097 tan, were now resumed, to their sorrow. Rufus scoffed at the dead men's bones, insulting the living by scorning the holiness of the departed. Anselm had no help; to save his church and monastery from worse consequences, he gave a large sum out of the Cathedral's diminished treasures. But he made good the loss to the community, by granting to the Conventual Chapter the revenues of an Archiepiscopal manor for the term of seven years. They were expended upon the fabric of the Cathedral.

Anselm harassed by demands connected with military service.

A writ under the King's Great Seal issued from the Chancery addressed to Anselm, commanding him to station himself at Canterbury, and place the city in a state of defence: a grievous restraint, amounting to an arrest, and of which he complained as interfering with his Archiepiscopal duties. Nevertheless there was a shew of legality in the demand, for he held the city as a Military Custody or Benefice; and he fulfilled, both in spirit and to the letter, the directions he received.

According to his obligations of tenure, Anselm duly furnished his contingent when Rufus led his army against the Cymri. The King broke their strength; nevertheless the victory had been dearly purchased. Many men and more horses were captured or perished in the woods and mountain passes. The nation defended themselves valiantly, and Rufus seems to have been incautious.

Therefore when he returned, he endeavoured to throw some portion of the blame upon Anselm, alleging that the troops he sent were few in number and not sufficiently equipped; and Anselm was Exchequered for the imputed default. Indeed his situation was becoming intolerable. If he attempted to resist the undue exactions made by the Crown, or even to plead against the royal demands, he was crushed by the King's Court, a tribunal in which the King sat as judge in his own cause, or acted by a Flambard. All the depravities of the country were fearfully encreasing: he, the spiritual Head of the national Church, had no power to restrain the transgressions, in which he appeared involved by his involuntary toleration; so that the spoliation of Church property was the most inconsiderable of existing evils. 1094—1097

In these exigencies, no trial pressed so heavily upon Anselm as the indifference and ill-will of his own order. No comforter arose, no counsellor would advise, no friend support, no brother stretch forth a helping hand; all neglected him. In the words of the Psalmist, he complained he was forgotten out of mind. Thus overwhelmed, Anselm saw no hope except by obtaining the authoritative advice of the Roman See, the last Court of appeal, affording the only chance of protection against the Sovereign's violence. Nor did he, by this act, endeavour to alarm or overawe the

Anselm driven to resort to Rome by the ill-will of his brethren.

1094—1097 King. Anselm simply invoked the only support remaining. Had the Bishops been true to the Church and to themselves, had they honestly done their duty, no aid from Rome would have been required.

1097. Transactions which finally produced Anselm's exile. He solicits permission to repair to Rome—twice refused.

§ 20. Anselm, anxiously seeking peace and charity, proceeded cautiously. He took his first opportunity in conversation, whilst the dishes were smoking on the board, during the Whitsun festival, trying to ascertain the tendency of the King's mind. Some days afterwards, he solicited permission, that he might repair to Rome: Rufus evaded the question by an answer, which might pass either for a civility, or a sneer.—What

May. need has Archbishop Anselm to advise with the Pope? Learned Anselm can better give advice to Urban, than Urban to Anselm.

August. A second request preferred, when a Great Council was specially summoned for the despatch of important affairs, met with no better success. But Rufus soon found that the decision could not

October. Anselm prefers his request a third time in the first Council at Winchester. be avoided. Anselm appeared by appointment in the next Great Council at Winchester,—a full and solemn Assembly. Eadmer and his suite accompanied him, here he presented his petition for the third time. A violent debate arose, occupying two days; debate, in truth, it scarcely was; all were on one side, all attacked Anselm. Rufus declared, that, if Anselm consulted the Pope, he should be deprived. The King's cause

had suddenly recovered great strength amongst the Baronage who hitherto sided with Anselm: Robert de Mellent and Flambard, had, without doubt, been co-operating. The acquisition of Normandy by Rufus added exceedingly to his power. He prospered, had so much more to give, and the reports spread concerning his vast plans of imperial conquest, magnified his present good fortune. Walkeline Bishop of Winchester, appointed Justiciar conjointly with Flambard, and replacing William de Saint Carileph, took the lead in the royal party. The Bishops of Lincoln and Bath, and, alas! for human consistency, good Osmund of Salisbury co-operated strenuously with the Cabinet. The Bishops argued lengthily with Anselm, and informed him they would in no wise disobey the King. Anselm was required to elect between the complete renunciation of Rome's remedial jurisdiction, and banishment. No appeal made to Rome, no letter sent to Rome, no Bull or Brief received; no communications exchanged, except when approved by the King. Anselm, it was alleged, had engaged to observe the laws and usages of the realm:—such were the Realm's laws and usages: unless he conformed he would be expelled, without any expectation of pardon. 1094—1097

Anselm to elect between the renunciation of the Pope's appelate jurisdiction and banishment.

Anselm resumed the debate in the King's presence, by earnest, impassioned, faithful arguments. A promise he admitted; but could any

Anselm again deserted by the Bishops and insulted by the King.

1094—1097 promise be extended to unrighteous commands, commands against the Lord, which he could not obey in the Lord. "No mention was made of the Lord, or of righteousness," vociferated King and Peers. King and Peers stormed: without attempting to refute Anselm, they tried to beat him down by contumely. Rufus, and Robert de Mellent, interrupted Anselm's speech, with groans and cries.—Oh! Oh! a sermon, a sermon!—the whole Council joined in the uproar. Anselm kept his seat, humble, unmoved, calm, silent; but it was only the fatigue of their own vociferations that silenced his adversaries.

The King commands Anselm to quit the kingdom.

Anselm retired from the hall: he was immediately followed by the King's messengers.—Anselm might depart if he listed; "but the King declares that nothing which belongs to him, mayest thou take with thee."—"Horses have I, furniture, garments. Let the King claim them if he chooses; rather would I go bareheaded and barefooted than desist from mine intent."—Rufus, somewhat abashed, sent back a reply that he did not wish to strip the Archbishop, nevertheless Anselm must avoid the country within eleven days, and a royal officer would meet him at the port and superintend his embarkation. William Warlewast, stimulated by the reward which his late companion Gerard, now Bishop of Hereford, had received, was employed upon this mean service: he executed his duty with rude

affronting harshness, searching Anselm's baggage on the very beach. 1094—1097

Eadmer, and those about Anselm, proposed that they should immediately repair to their hostel. Not so Anselm: he returned to the King. Cheerfully, courteously, and respectfully, he took his leave, declaring his purpose of immediately repairing to Dover, but imploring Rufus to accept a blessing, as from one who knew not when they might behold each other's face again,—from one who would be always mindful of his eternal welfare. 1097. 15 October. The parting of Rufus and Anselm.

Rufus answered thoughtfully, he did not reject the proffered benison: he bowed his proud head. Anselm raised his hand, and signed the monarch with the cross: his lips, speaking from the heart, pronounced the benediction: Rufus and Anselm parted, and the parting was for ever.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BROTHERS WAR IN NORMANDY.

1090—1091.

1090, 1091

Character of Henry Beauclerc.

§ 1. HENRY BEAUCLERC, cruel, licentious, false, possessed a great advantage over his brothers. Robert and Rufus were enslaved by their passions. Henry's ferocity, lust, and dissimulation were compatible with his worldly prosperity. Humiliation, sorrow, and anguish, punished the man; but the man's vices rarely diminished the Monarch's prestige, or clouded his splendour. Instinctive prudence enabled him to mask the odious features of his character, by means of his intellectual resources; or, rather, to supply the excuses which, in the world's estimation, cover a multitude of sins.

Astute in youth, crafty in old age, Henry rendered all his talents subservient to his interests. He combined acuteness and cultivation: a thorough man of business, a man of letters, and a man of the world. He was the most winning of the Conqueror's sons. By popular opinion the Porphyrogenitus had been always designated for the throne. "He is born to be a King," was the first sentiment annexed to Henry's name. During the transition from childhood to adolescence, the feeling that the English Atheling deserved to be

a King, gained ground more and more. Well had Henry profited by being driven to book; Lanfranc and Master Achard might have been proud of their pupil. The expression "driven to book," must not, however, be construed in its literal sense. The old metrical chronicler, whose rhyme we quote, was himself straitened for a word. Beauclerc was not driven, he took to his book most kindly: his book-knowledge became thoroughly incorporated in his mind. 1090, 1091

Beauclerc has always been favoured as a literary hero, in our old English Picture gallery. Sometimes brighter colours have been employed, sometimes darker; but the main features have continued unvaried. We must make some allowance for the foibles of our accustomed guides. The peculiar position of monastic writers seduced them into unchristian laxity, as well as into unchristian asperity. In the monotonous solitude of the cloister, the valour, the gallantry, the splendour, the munificence of a Sovereign, seen in the distance, occasionally became so attractive as to earn applauses and laudations, which observers, practically acquainted with the hacked knick-knacks of Vanity Fair, would have denied.

There is much to be considered in Beauclerc's real character, contrasted with the traditionary reputation assigned to him. Holding a comparatively insignificant position in literary history, Beauclerc ranks, nevertheless, with your Tenth Leo, or your François Premier, those

1090, 1091 names whom the adulatory spirit of literature has decked with such false adornments, as in some degree to justify the observation attributed to the most acute of French statesmen, that history is an universal conspiracy against truth. Even as the artist's test of merit is the patronage or love of art, and the soldier's the encouragement of military talent or war, so has literature become the test of merit amongst those by whom reputation is bestowed.

"Non fu si santo ne benigno Augusto,
Come la tuba di Virgilio suona.
L'avere avuto in poesia buon gusto
La proscrizion' iniqua li perdona.
Nessun sapria se Neron fusse ingiusto,
Ne sua fama saria forse men buona;
Avesse avuto e terra e ciel nemici,
Se gli scrittor sapea tenersi amici."

They pay but an indifferent compliment either to Authority or to themselves, who, with upturned eyes and submissive voice, express their humble raptures when Royalty cultivates the accomplishments or caresses the acquirements of the human mind. Where is the merit? Where, the condescension? Do you practise any self-denial if you eat pleasant fruit? Do you mortify yourself by taking wholesome food? Is it a penance to quit the stifling atmosphere and ceaseless din of a crowded metropolis, to seek the clear waters of classic Ilissus, or the tranquil shades of the academic grove?

Diogenes may be proud; but if Alexander

wants to profit by the Philosopher's lesson, 1090, 1091
there is no humility in Alexander's visiting the Philosopher's tub. Wisdom receives no honour from those who seek her: she bestows the honour. Science dignifies her votaries, she gains no dignity, though her votary wears a Crown. Learning learns nothing from the Prince's presence. Regal protection follows the developement of talent, never bestows it. Newton and Boyle made the Royal Society, not the Merry Monarch's gilded mace and broad-sealed charter. Yet there is one aspect under which intellectual proficiency attained by the Great is not undeserving of temperate encomium. When properly considered, their success belongs to the History of the Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties. It is the Conquest of the difficulties imposed by the uncommunicable and transcendant prerogative of noble birth, or by the pre-eminences, temptations and duties of Rank and Station, which constitutes the honour of those, who, so impeded and disadvantaged, obtain knowledge.

Mediæval teaching compared with ours.

With the usual compensation of human affairs, the literary poverty of the mediæval period may not have been less advantageous to the mediæval student, than our literary opulence: perhaps more so. Literature gushed fresh from the spring, Science descended clad in radiance.

The education of those theological times was effectual. They founded their system on the most definite and comprehensive principle; the pebble

1090, 1091 was set in gold. Even when their teaching failed in its ultimate object, it bestowed a stirring activity upon the intellect; and we are not aware of any period during which the cultivation of the ruling classes obtained a higher comparative standard. The studies of the age all tended to utility. Their scholarship was taught in earnest: more sparing than ours, less was wasted: the narrowness of the current encreased the strength of the stream. Every book possessed the zest of scarcity, a Roxburgh volume: every branch of human knowledge was recommended by its novelty. Thumbed Cornelius Nepos, and the now neglected Justin, were, to such as Henry Beauclerc, visitors from an unexplored country.

They were not swamped by the literature of the day: that day which never sees the morrow: neither was knowledge spoilt by being made too cheap. Not entirely without reason does popular opinion leap to the conclusion that the cheap article is trumpery. Value results from labour. Had any ingenious person sat down, to devise a plan for debasing the intellectual worth of science in the estimation of the youthful mind, this object could not have been effected more nicely than by Philosophy in Sport, and Peter Parley.

Literary compositions ascribed to Henry Beauclerc.

Rarely could Henry, amidst his vicissitudes, pleasures, and cares, be seen with a book in his hand, yet his few opportunities of privacy and seclusion were always well employed in study.

He is said to have written Æsopean fables in English, first translating them from Greek into Latin. Gaffer Goodrich, the nickname afterwards given to Beauclerc by the Normans, in scornful mockery, testifies Henry's decided Anglicism, and thus adds support to an assertion which otherwise might have appeared improbable to the critical archæologist. But Henry Beauclerc issued writs and charters in English: the contemporary chronicle of his reign is written in English; and the aspect of improbability arises only from the erroneous opinions concerning the Conqueror's projected abolition of the vernacular tongue. Marie de France, a true poetess in the age of minstrel rhymers, pure and chaste amidst the obscene and corrupted Trouveurs and Troubadours who crowd around her, received her literary impulse from Beauclerc. She acknowledges that King Henry supplied the substance of her Apologues: whilst Marie's fables, in their turn, suggested the artistic *naïveté* which imparts the peculiar charm to Lafontaine:— 1090, 1091

"Pour amour le Conte Williaume
Le plus vaillant de cest Royaume
M'entremis, de cest livre faire,
Et de l'Engleis en Romance traire.
Ysopet apelons ce livre
Q'il travailla et fist êcrire;
De Grèc en Latin le turna
Le Roi Henri qui moult l'ama,
Le translata puis en Engleis,
Et je l'ai rimé en Franceis."

1090, 1091 Beauclerc's inclination to Natural History may be connected with these myths, by which the taste would be both fostered and encouraged.

Moreover, the *Rex vetus Henricus* claims to be the author of a popular *Galateo*, a treatise on courtly manners. Henry the First was called the *Rex vetus*, in order that he might be distinguished from his grandson: the custom of adding numerals to royal names did not prevail till a subsequent period. This same manual, which in its versions and paraphrases is entitled the *Rex Urbanus*, or the *Dictié d'Urbain*, became a favourite repertory of good breeding.

The adage *Rex illiteratus est Asinus coronatus*, as quoted by Henry.

Henry was fully conscious of his gifts. His favourite adage, *Rex illiteratus est Asinus coronatus*, savours of vanity in his mouth. He employed the verse so emphatically that he acquired the credit of being its author. We dare not contest the rhythm's originality on behalf of Fulk the Good, for, with a slight various reading, Vincentius Bellovacensis vindicates the lesson on behalf of a nameless Roman Emperor, when he, the tutor of the children of St. Louis, approvingly repeats it to Margaret, their mother Queen.

Beauclerc's memory was well stored with those pithy maxims and popular apophthegms, which enter so largely into the daily knowledge of life. It would be a curious enquiry how far national and individual character may be affected by gnome and adage, a mode of ethical

instruction so natural, so primeval, so grateful to the human mind. The apt quotation subdues without argument, and silences without controversy. Bullion cannot be used in traffic: the ingot requires to be struck into current money; proverbs and adages enable you to make a tender of wisdom in a coinage which cannot be refused. But the metal is, unfortunately, too often adulterated. 1090, 1091. Popular proverbs and sayings.

Applicable to the conduct of human society in every phase, equally adapted to the simplicity of the Patriarchal age, and the complexity of civilization, the best guides for our prudent walk in the corrupted world, the Proverbs of Holy Writ disinfect the world's corruption. But no collection of popular proverbs opens by acknowledging that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom; and the majority, in every nation and tongue, inculcate the most seductive branches of the falsest false teaching, justification of selfishness, and mockery of sin. We need not here particularize the apt lessons of libertinism they afford: but, how much sanction is given to mean and griping avarice by the one familiar proverb, the very condensation of perverted truth, that charity begins at home.

§ 2. Never does the root of all evil produce a more bitter fruit than when planted in the dead man's coffin. No scroll unfolds a heavier judgment than the last will, whereby the testator, Disputes with Henry Beauclerc and his brothers arising out of the testamentary

1090, 1091 claims upon the estates of his father and mother.

declaring that he surrenders his soul to his Creator, his body to the grave, leaves that wealth which he loses, to become the source of the fiercest hostility between those nearest allied. The moralist sighs and wonders at the strange insensibility of the cut-purse, who pursues his vocation whilst his companion is expiring on the scaffold, unmoved by the example. If this be folly, there are few who do not take the adjoining berth in the great *Stultifera Navis.* In defiance of all principle, of all reason, the very event which testifies the nothingness of riches, renders us all more eager for their acquisition.

Henry Beauclerc considered Robert Courthose as their Father's executor and trustee, and Rufus as their Mother's: the testamentary quarrels which ensued, crushed out the last spark of natural affection between him and his Brothers. Henry's implacable hatred pursued them both, till Rufus fell by the shaft, and pining captivity ended Robert's weary darkness. We are not possessed of the particulars enabling us to understand the exact bearing of this undignified dispute: there was no court before which the parties to the suit could plead, and publish their mutual accusations. But the recriminations which passed between them, tinge the conflicting statements furnished by the chroniclers, who may be considered as representing the advocates of the litigants.

Dishonesty and fraud are imputed to Robert: to Henry, screwing avarice. Within a short time after Robert's accession, he exhausted the treasury of Caen: his extravagance was unbounded, his palace a vulgar and licentious hostelry on the largest scale. In addition to this constant drain, he raised large stipendiary forces, needed for the intended invasion of England; incompetent, untrustworthy retainers, who exhausted his revenue without contributing to military strength. The assertion, therefore, that these dangerous dependants absorbed the fund with which he was bound to answer Henry's legacy, comes supported by antecedent probability.

1090, 1091

Different versions of the dealings between Courthose and Beauclerc.

According to another version of the transaction, talked over, as all these bye-gone stories were, by the cowled veterans circling the hearth at St. Evroul, Robert, needing three thousand pounds, the reputed amount of the Legacy, craved pecuniary aid from his wealthy brother, whereupon Beauclerc peremptorily refused.—"I will neither give you money nor lend you money," quoth Henry; whereupon Robert proposed to sell him the whole Cotentin. The hard bargain was immediately concluded; a most inadequate price, forced upon necessity.

Story as repeated by Odericus Vetalis.

Not more uncharitable was Henry's conduct, if we adopt the supposition that he, the younger brother, dealt with the elder as an usurious and unconscientious creditor, pressing a shuffling

1090, 1091 debtor; who, not being able to get the money, extorts far more than the money's worth in discharge of his claim. Such a mode of doing business is very common: therefore it is just as likely that Beauclerc insisted upon the Cotentin as a satisfaction for the unpaid legacy.

The Cotentin transferred or sold by Robert to Henry.

Be this as it may, the result of the pecuniary dealings is indubitable. Henry acquired the Cotentin, a Viscounty, reckoned as one-third of the Duchy. Strict geographical measurement might not warrant this calculation, though probably correct when grounded upon the data, equally or more indicative of value,—the items of traditionary associations, importance, and opulence. A bold and compact peninsula, fertile and defensible. A fine sea-coast, opening into ports and harbours, Cherbourg and Barfleur, then the favourite passage to England. Strong fortresses and flourishing towns: Coutances the capital; Saint Lo, vying with Coutances; Avranches on the towering rock, from whence you survey the shores, reach after reach, Normandy trending northwards, Bretagne on the south, and in the distant æstuary, the Mont St. Michel, Abbey, Castle, Fane of the tutelary Archangel, rising like a dream on the horizon.

Henry having taken possession, was styled Count of the Cotentin, ruling with praiseworthy prudence and wisdom. Robert's conduct was the reverse. By accustoming the people to see

Sovereign rights bought and sold as mere property, they learnt the lesson that their own allegiance was to be bought and sold likewise. If Robert parted with the Cotentin Homagers, might not his other Barons bring themselves into the market on their own account? Moreover, considering the rivalry prevailing between the Brothers, it was still more injudicious to give Henry that which the Conqueror had not bestowed, a territorial endowment, a *point d'appui* for future operations, thus beginning to satisfy the universal anticipations of his power. 1090, 1091

§ 3. If by surrendering the Cotentin, Robert bargained away so large a portion of his dominions, he could scarcely be said to rule the remainder otherwise than by sufferance. Upon the death of the Conqueror, Normandy flung her rider, and Robert never could seat himself in the saddle again, never again snatch hold of the reins. The Baronage, having emancipated themselves from the Ducal authority, would in no wise return to obedience; and their mutual dissensions were rarely suspended, except when, to suit their own private purposes, they formed their cabals or leagues, either for or against their Sovereign. The history of Normandy, like that of Scotland, acquires much interest and much intricacy from the number of personages who are constantly in the field. But a main difficulty in telling the story, arises from the want of political principle. Oaths were of no more value than they used to

Misgovernment and confusion prevailing in Normandy under Robert.

Want of principle in the Norman Baronage.

1090, 1091 be at the Custom House. So sudden and swift are the whirlings of the weather-cocks, that you are constantly perplexed when you try to race after their changes. If a given Baron is found obedient to King or Duke in the Spring, it is more than an even chance that you will find him fighting on the other side during the following Summer.

In Normandy's better days, the Norman's pride had been the strict administration of justice. The traditions concerning Rollo, are popular emblems of the spirit which gave a healthy energy to Normandy, vigilant, equitable, and rigidly coercive. That residue, of which Robert called himself Duke, was completely anarchized: every man's hand lifted up against his neighbour. The Sovereign's prerogatives restraining the Baronage from erecting fortresses, and also empowering the Duke to place garrisons therein, prerogatives, so useful and wholesome, were entirely set at nought, walls raised, fosses dug, outworks staked and palisadoed, without any reference to the restraints imposed by the Law. These "adulterine Castles," erected and fortified without any authorization, filled the land.

The disturbances in Normandy produced in part from the uncertainty of the principles of tenure.

§ 4. Such strongholds became centres of violence: their inmates rioted in vice within, and were encouraged to commit acts of aggression and depredation without. Normandy offered an aspect of universal confusion. However, amidst all this disorder, there was, to a certain extent, a consist-

ent motive, a plausible pretence. If the Baronage could have paused to explain their conduct, might they not have pleaded some justification? But they were too angry to reason. 1090, 1091

We have in a previous chapter glanced at the double aspect offered by the Norman insurrection. Could the circumstances attending this baronial turbulence be correctly disclosed, they would probably, without affecting the verity of the transactions, considerably modify the opinions which we form of the disturbers. We all know why treason never prospers, and the developement of mere civil rights often passes through periods in which legality or illegality is a hit or miss. Succeed in your agitation, you are a patriot: fail, you are a felon. The discontents of the Baronage may be attributed to a struggle for possession, an agrarian agitation carried on by the aristocracy. The same leaven contributed to generate Magna Charta. The custom of conveying land by verbal grant and symbolical delivery, wholly deprives us of documentary evidence relating to lay territorial property anterior to the Conqueror's reign: conjecture alone supplies the blank; but the whole tendency of the narratives which describe the Norman Baronial dissensions, will support the supposition that the legal principles of tenure were not completely settled. This uncertainty prevailed more particularly in cases when the title of the Landholder, not being derived from

Absence of documentary evidence in the earlier periods of Norman history.

1090, 1091 the Northman's first conquest, was founded upon a grant proceeding from the Sovereign.

Probable distinction between lands held by actual occupancy and the new feoffment.

We avoid using the terms allodial or feudal; because the employment of either would prejudge the question, which in another work we have attempted, however imperfectly, to discuss. In this particular era and country, we suggest that there was a wide distinction between lands held by the ancient occupancy, and the new feoffment; and that, with respect to such modern tenures, not only was it dubious whether the Baron's son was entitled by positive law to succeed to the land held by his father, but even whether a Ducal grant imparted more than a *custody*, which might be determined whenever the Sovereign chose. The principle of hereditary Baronial right, grounded upon possession, and protected by usage, was unquestionably gaining the ascendancy. A wise and prudent Sovereign, a William, would, without making any express renunciation of his prerogative, always incline in favour of fixity of tenure, allowing the Baron's son to succeed his father, not hastily revoking a grant, and avoiding, as far as possible, all contrariety in his dealings. A foolish, head strong Robert, unable to foresee consequences, or heedless of them, would, as readily and naturally, act upon opposite principles.

The most enthusiastic Norman Archiviste, the most diligent Elève of the Ecole des Chartes, can

never expect to supply the absence of authentic muniments, or remove the poverty of information under which we labour, and therefore no theory can be established with certainty. Nevertheless, we can answer for one thing—that whoever will take the trouble to study the Norman quarrels as recorded by the Chronicler of St. Evroul, in the main, one of the most trustworthy of historians, will, having completed that study, be convinced of the general soundness and applicability of the foregoing hypothesis. 1090, 1091

§ 5. The surrender of Rochester sent Bishop Odo back again to Normandy, angered against those who deserted him, seeking revenge, deeply mortified by the destruction of all his ambitious hopes, but entirely unbroken in spirit, vigorous, ingenious, active, and ready for any employment except his Episcopal duties. He immediately resumed his former position as Robert's chief Counsellor and adviser. Another Counsellor was Edgar Atheling, between whom and Robert a close intimacy had long subsisted. The first supposition would be, that political views induced Robert to protect the legitimate heir of the Anglo-Saxon crown, so as to play him off against the King. But no such intention received any countenance from the bold, honest, simple-minded, affectionate Englishman. Edgar submitted cheerfully to his destiny, well contented to act in a subordinate capacity. If descent from Cerdic Robert's Court and family.

1090, 1091 imparted any royal rights, they were popularly considered as transferred to Queen Margaret at Dumferline. William de Arques, a Monk at Molesme, is incidentally noticed as being in Robert's cabinet. A trusty friend was always found in Helias de St. Sidoine, or Saint Saens, a Baron distantly connected with the royal family through a remote ancestress, a sister of the Duchess Gunnora, and who in this era of Anglo-Norman history will afford a bright example of time-tried troth and fidelity.

Robert's children, two sons and one daughter.

The two sons of Robert by the Priest's daughter, bearing the honoured family names of Richard and William, continued with their father. Rarely are these young men spoken of, and yet when any observation accompanies the mention of them, only for good. Well qualified for distinction by talent and disposition, not disqualified by birth, for, considering the maternal parentage of their Grandfather, their origin was scarcely a stain, they never appear prominent in public affairs; a circumstance which, whilst it fixes our attention upon them, does not receive any explanation from the Chroniclers. A third child was a girl: her nameless mother is only known to us as concubine; but she held her position, a recognized and not unimportant member of the Ducal family. Such was the inner circle, so to speak, of Robert's court and household, when the battle for the English crown

being terminated, he engaged in another series of vexatious and humiliating contests. 1090, 1091

§ 6. However sluggish Robert Courthose may have been, it was scarcely possible that he should not feel himself degraded, until duly inaugurated and acknowledged in Maine. Maine, an acquisition of which the Conqueror was scarcely less proud than England, bestowing the style of state inscribed upon his Seal, *Dux Normannorum et Cenomanorum;* furnishing the eulogium, gained by the doughty deeds—*et Cenomanenses virtute coercuit enses*—commemorated upon his splendid tomb. From this, his father's Honour, Robert Courthose was excluded. No homages had as yet been tendered. Norman garrisons occupied the castles which William raised; Bishop Hoel retained his indubitable fidelity to his patron's family, but the Mançeaux had not given any token of allegiance. Many were desirous to accept as their Sovereign a Prince in whom the rights of Este and Maine were united, one who could defend them equally against the powers of Anjou and of Normandy, the descendants of Tortulf and of Rollo.—Albert Azzo was yet living in extreme old age, being nearly an hundred years old; therefore the expectations of the Mançeaux were placed upon his son Ugone, believed to be very powerful and opulent, and the husband of Heria, Robert Guiscard's daughter. Geoffrey of Mayenne still

Maine. Robert not yet recognized in this Sovereignty.

Party favouring the claims of Ugone the son of Albert Azzo of Este, opposed by Helias de la Flèche.

1090, 1091 retained much influence, but the Este interest was potently counterbalanced by the rising consequence of Helias de la Flèche, the son of Jean de Beaugency, the great grandson of Herbert Wake-the-dogs, whose activity fully deserved the quaint epithet of his grandsire. Robert had unquestionably a legal right to Maine, so solemnly assured to him upon his betrothal with the deceased Margaret, the daughter of the last reigning Count. Yet the transaction had become almost illusory, and there is every reason to suppose that the Mançeaux would be much inclined to cancel the obligations altogether.

Under favourable circumstances, a conflict with the descendants of Cæsar's valiant opponents was hazardous: how much more so to Courthose, who, besides the difficulties arising from misgovernment, had many enemies who might thwart his designs.

Since the treaty of La Blanchelande, Fulk Réchin had never troubled Normandy, or interfered in the affairs of the Mançeaux. Fulk was otherwise employed. We owe much to Fulk's ability in authorship. His memoirs of the House of Anjou, including his auto-biography,—and in the earlier portions grounded upon the family traditions received from his uncle Geoffrey Martel,—brief as they are, may well excite our curiosity; the composition of a layman, the work of a Prince, lively and spirited, they constitute

Fulk Réchin of Anjou. His Memoirs of the House of Anjou.

the earliest specimens of a species of composition so important in French history, and so illustrative of the French character. Reminiscences of the past, connected with the actions of the narrator, supported by his authority, tinctured by his feelings, to be trusted and yet distrusted, claiming a confidence which we must both render and deny. 1090, 1091

An auto-biographist gives particulars which none but the author could tell; but at the same time he conceals just as many, which the author never will let us know. An acute observer, a constant guest at the best tables, one equally versed in books and in the ways of the world, used to give his opinion to us broadly, that no person ever kept an auto-biographical journal without deceiving others or themselves; therefore he abstained from the practice; a reticense occasioning a loss, great to posterity, but far greater to his residuary Legatees. We calculate that the copyright would have been worth a thousand pounds to them. It is certainly more than doubtful, whether any writer of his own history ever records matters which he honestly believes to be disadvantageous to his reputation, whether he ever recollects those passages which he would wish to be forgotten by posterity. The confessions of the Citizen of Geneva do not furnish any objection, he gloated upon his own morbid depravity.

1090, 1091

Therefore it is not from Fulk's auto-biography that we learn how he ultimately espoused four or five wives. Up to this period we reckon three. Launcelotta otherwise Hildegarda, (the latter name having been perhaps assumed for euphony or dignity,) daughter of Launceline of Beaugency, the only one amongst them who fortunately or unfortunately died as his consort, was succeeded by Ermengarda, the daughter of Archambaud, Sire of Bourbon. Ermengarda, upon pretence of kindred, having been repudiated by Fulk, he courted and obtained Arengarda of Chastell Aillon. Divorced, like her predecessor, though without any cause assigned, she retired into a Monastery. A fourth, of unhappy celebrity, will soon appear.

Fulk Réchin's wives.

How Fulk Réchin would act, was dubious; his turbulence seemed to have subsided. Fulk Réchin's ancestor and namesake, Fulk the Good, might have rejoiced in the assurance, that his singularly talented descendant was entirely exempted from the obloquy of being an *Illiteratus*; nevertheless his general conduct fully proved that all his acquirements did not protect him from the imputation, implied in the second hemistich of the adage. He might truly be called an *Asinus*, aye and by many a worthy Baron, who, unable to read a syllable, signed his charter *pro ignorantia litterarum*, with his mark. Fulk's time was occupied in literature, debauchery, and foppery: he was remarkable as being the influ-

Fulk Réchin's personal foppery.

ential patron of the fashion which has become one of the standing common-places of scrap-book antiquarianism, the puffed, and then curly-pointed, long-toed shoes. The fellow (he is spoken of very contemptuously) who first made and wore these shoes, which resembled ram's horns, obtained therefrom the nickname of "Cornard." The Cornard's invention adopted by Fulk was greatly improved by his taste, and patronized by him for the purpose of concealing the ugliness of his knobbed, inflamed, and swollen feet. He was troubled by this unsightly ailment, of which the deformity vexed him more than the infirmity or the pain. But notwithstanding these weaknesses, the Réchin, the Shark, now, according to his own reckoning, about forty-seven years of age, was energetic in mind, and not enervated in body. He was fully competent for love and war. Fulk Réchin's power rendered him formidable. Still more had Robert to apprehend from Geoffrey Martel, Fulk's son by Ermengarda, heir-apparent of Anjou, a youth endowed with splendid ambition and bravery. 1090, 1091

Opposition might proceed also from Philip of France, who, though he had relapsed into inactivity, partly occasioned by his encreasing corpulence and love of good cheer, was jealous of any advance made by Normandy.

Robert Belesme much dreaded by Courthose.

Yet, after all, Robert had most reason to be on his guard against domestic foes, his brother

1090, 1094 Henry, and the great March-Lord, Robert Belesme, Count of Alençon, and husband of Agnês de Ponthieu,—Belesme, the terror equally of Normandy and Maine. He had been the first to declare against Government upon the Conqueror's death. The affairs of England gave him transient, but congenial employment. Would he not now resume his former scheme of extending his almost independent authority, so sure to be augmented at no distant period by the dominions of his father-in-law, the Count Guy? Belesme's very name excited a constant, and just cause of apprehension to all. He possessed military talents of a high order, especially in the art of fortification, the best engineer of the time; and his reckless cruelty added to his influence. Who did not dread a conflict with Belesme?—captivity in his Dungeons always threatened torture and death.

Odo urges Robert to reform.

Bishop Odo, as far as his influence extended, exhorted his nephew to exertion. The Bishop emulated all Robert's vices, excepting his indolence and love of ease; stimulated by morbid activity, he would be always up and doing, he never was happy in tranquillity. Odo upbraided Robert, pointed out to him strongly his negligence, and the faults of his government, and proffered good counsel for amendment, practically amounting to nothing. From the first moment of his accession, Robert's cause was hopeless. A weak government may be nursed into strength; but

when born ricketty, the disease in the bones is incurable. Take, for example, Charles I., whom no human prudence or wisdom could have retrieved. 1090, 1091

The reduction of Maine was strongly urged by Odo; but this object could not be obtained otherwise than by subjugating the Belesme-Talvas family. If not effected now, they were gaining strength so steadily, that any attempt to reduce them would soon become hopeless. Odo and Robert reckoned up with apprehension the domains which they held:—Belesme Castle, from whence the chief of the family in Normandy derived his territorial surname, noble Alençon, tower-encircled Domfront, St. Cenery, haunted by crime, La Motte D'Igé, where dread Mabel was slain, Mamers, Vignas, Lurson. The Duke and the Bishop maintained amongst themselves, that there was not one of these places which the Talvas lineage had not obtained by violence or fraud. But the difficulties attending a rupture with Belesme were weighed and considered, and would probably have deterred Robert from aggression, had not an unexpected opportunity tempted him to the enterprize.

§ 7. Not long after the siege of Rochester, Henry passed over to England. His ostensible and declared objects were both pleasure and business: a holiday, and the recovery of the inheritance he claimed from his mother, the territorial Earldom or Seignory called the Hon-

Henry's journey to England for the purpose of obtaining his mother's inheritance, the Honour of Glouces-ter.

1090, 1091

our of Gloucester. We have before alluded to this claim as involved in great perplexity. We cannot understand how the Honour became vested in Matilda, nor how Henry claimed through her, and we have a difficulty concerning Fitz-Hamo himself: whether he was or was not the son of Hamo Duredent is a mooted point in genealogy.

Beauclerc fails in his demands, the Honour continuing in the possession of Fitz-Hamo.

Fortunately however for history, the doubts which obscure the details do not conceal the more important facts, the establishment of the great Marcher-Lordship of Glamorgan, which placed Hamo in the first rank of Anglo-Norman Baronage. It is certain, that Robert Fitz-Hamo, now married to Sybilla the daughter of Roger de Montgomery,—by whom he had but one child, an only child, a daughter—and receiving support from that high alliance, was in possession of the domain so much coveted by Henry, and also extending his conquests in the adjoining parts of Wales.

Henry continued in England during the greater part of the summer: he failed to obtain any justice from Rufus; but he succeeded, about this time, in winning the Nesta, the beautiful daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, the last King of Deheubarth, or South Wales. We have called her "the Nesta," for though the appellation is given to her as a proper name, a Cymric scholar informs us that it should rather be construed as denoting her kindred, relationship, or affinity to

the King. History is provokingly silent concerning this adventure, nor will the traditions of the Romantic borders supply the deficiency. Her father was slain by Fitz-Hamo; and Belesme, Fitz-Hamo's brother-in-law, soon appearing as the companion of Henry, it might be inferred that Henry, not being able to assert his rights, joined Fitz-Hamo, and carried off the damsel in the warfare. Married they never were, according to the laws of the Church; but the Nesta consorted with Henry until he found it convenient to discard her, providing, however, as he generally did in those cases, a convenient and accommodating husband glad to accept the Royal concubine. During their brief cohabitation, the Nesta gave birth at Caen to Henry's firstborn son, Robert, always trusted by his Father, the noblest character of the Anglo-Norman line, the most distinguished by courage, conduct, and consistency.

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The Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tudor, Henry's concubine.

Their son Robert.

Towards the end of the summer, Robert de Belesme, with the King's leave and license, quitted England and repaired to Normandy, accompanied by Henry Beauclerc. This fellowship, somewhat unaccountable, suggested the conjecture that they were united in some plot or plan. Their intentions had been known in Normandy: troops were stationed at the place of landing, probably Barfleur; and when the Porphyrogenitus and the Count of Alençon descended from the vessel,

Belesme and Henry return to Normandy, where they are cast into prison.

1090, 1091 they were captured and loaded with chains. No trial, no investigation: the denunciation secret, Duke Robert acting under the influence of panic fear. If conscience makes cowards, cowardice, in the real sense, always makes cruelty. Bishop Odo advised the measure; to gratify one nephew, he became the jailor of the other. He received Henry into his custody, and the Count of the Côtentin was confined in the Castle of Bayeux, of which we recollect the last vestiges.—It was a noble Bastille—where they kept the royal prisoner in close captivity. The Ducal prerogatives verged upon despotism. If the question had come to be debated, Courthose might have shown that he was fully authorized to exercise this act of severity. Nevertheless, men in power are unwise when they violate the reverence due to their own order. Whoever disrespects the rights of others, teaches disrespect to his own: temporary advantage is purchased at a dear rate, when the Monarch or the State furnishes the precedent which can be retorted: by this act Courthose began to dig the pit into which he afterwards fell.

Beauclerc kept in custody at Baieux.

§ 8. Plots and conspiracies, the suggestion that Henry and Belesme had combined with Rufus against Robert, afforded, according to report, the reason for the arrest. Odo was suspected of having instigated the measure; at all events he immediately improved the result into

Odo again urges Robert to hostilities.

the means of carrying out his schemes. The disturbances in Normandy reduced Robert, the nominal Sovereign, to the situation of a mere party leader. Any movement was perilous; nevertheless, Odo persisting in his schemes of hostility, strenuously urged the long contemplated raid,—to employ the term campaign, would convey an erroneous idea—an expedition having for its object, the acquisition of Maine, and the reduction of the hated Belesme-Talvas family. Could any time be more favourable than the present? Many of the arguments employed by Odo were right; all plausible, but he is charged with insincerity. Odo gave *qui tam* advice: if the action failed, he expected to get his costs: to profit by the spoil. 1090, 1091

We continue ignorant of the manner in which military service was required from the Norman Baronage, no regular convention or assembly can be traced: the Baronage who consented to give their aid, obeyed their own inclinations, not Robert's writ of summons. Robert's conduct affords a painful contrast with his real situation. Fully impressed with the idea that he ruled as a Sovereign, he was only a Condottiere of Condottieri. Such as they were, he held his musters, and we will call over the roll.

Enumeration of Robert's party.

Bishop Odo first and foremost, put on his shirt of mail: not in a figurative but a literal sense, chief commander of the army.

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William Count of Evreux and the Countess Heloise.

William, Count of Evreux, the great grandson of Richard Sans Peur, husband of the haughty, sturdy, eloquent, close-fisted Heloise, stands next on the roll. Count William was full of grudges against Robert Courthose, claiming various domains, Gacé, Bavent near Caen, Noyon-sur-Andelle, Gravençon and Ecouché, all formerly held by Ralph de Gacé, better known as Tête-d'Ane, the Grand Connétable of Normandy, the faithful guardian of the Conqueror, but which had been withheld from Tête-d'Ane's kinsmen, who designated themselves his heirs, the inheritable quality of the property being the fact virtually denied. The Count's co-operation with Robert, whatever terms he might be inclined to propose, was therefore a great gain; moreover he carried with him a power of influential connexions and retainers.

Ralph or Raoul de Toeny and his wife Isabel.

Third in command appears the Count's maternal brother, Ralph de Toeny, Sire of Conches, grand Standard-Bearer of Normandy, Lord of Flamstead and Clifford's Castle in England, whose wife Isabel or Elizabeth de Montfort vied with her sister-in-law, the Countess Heloise, in boldness, spirit, and audacity, excelling her much in grace and beauty. Both these ladies must be mentioned here: completely the rulers of their Lords, they are quite as conspicuous in History.

William de Breteuil.

William de Breteuil, eldest son of Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford, nephew of Ralph de Toeny, answers as the fourth leading Chieftain. He also

had his quarrel for a Seignory assumed to be hereditary. Robert, by procuring Breteuil's adherence, neutralized a claimant who was hesitating whether he should become a suitor or an insurgent. 1090, 1091

Furthermore, this alliance might bring in the Montforts, a family encreasing in consequence, doubly connected with the Houses of Evreux and Toeny: with the house of Evreux, they were united through the deceased Agnes, Count William's sister, widow of the late Simon de Montfort, the first bearing those well-known names. The Count was childless, and one line of the Evreux family was continued through the children of Agnes and Simon de Montfort, his nephew Aymeric, and his niece, who was living at Evreux, under the care of her aunt Heloise; blooming Bertrada, a damsel already celebrated far and wide for her exquisite loveliness. The Montforts.

The Montfort connexion with the Toeny family was through Isabel.

Whilst we are telling up these and the like noble names, so richly teeming with historical reminiscences, let us be mindful, that, contrary to the Scottish proverb, blood in Normandy was not thicker than water, nor did connexions and alliances afford any protection against the feuds which distracted the various lineages. The Norman families exhibited the narrowness of clanship, destitute of the redeeming affections which real or ideal kindred might inspire.

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The foregoing enumeration is very important, inasmuch as it includes the largest section of Robert's party. The aggregate force was sufficiently imposing: Robert and his army marched on to Le Mans; but all his followers excepting Odo, and Hélie de St. Sidoine, were ready to fall off the bough whenever it should be shaken.

Robert's operations against Mans and the Belesme-Talvas possessions.

§ 9. They were received without opposition, nay, apparent joy was manifested. Bishop Hoel was heartily glad to place himself again under Norman domination, and to welcome the son of his Patron, the Patron who had given him his Bishoprick. Geoffrey of Mayenne and Hélias de la Flèche respectively thought it wiser to avoid resistance. The Este party kept quiet. Clergy and Burghers came forth; Robert, he who in early youth had been betrothed to the heiress of Maine, he who had been invested by the King of France, now kept his state as the inaugurated Liege-lord. Yet his authority was very slight. Payen de Montdoubleau, a minor Baron, held out in doleful Balaon; but after a short, though desperate defence, he surrendered.

Robert received in Mans.

Siege and surrender of St. Cenery.

The real difficulty, the subjugation of the Belesme-Talvas family, remained. Soon as politic old Roger de Montgomery knew how his son, bold Belesme, had been captured, he quitted his Marcher-Lordship, and crossing over to Normandy, caused all the fortresses and strongholds which the lineage inherited, usurped, or occupied,

to be put into a state of defence. Courthose began operations by laying siege to St. Cenery, so important from its situation as a strong frontier barrier. Robert Quarel, one of Belesme's household, had been entrusted with the defence; he executed his duty valiantly; nor would the garrison surrender until compelled by starvation. This was a fortress of contested title. It had once been held by the Giroie family. Courthose treated the defence as high treason. Robert Quarel was immediately blinded, by the Duke's special and personal direction: the horrible act seems to have been committed in his presence. Little did he, Duke Robert, anticipate the hour when the red-hot brass would glow before his own agonized eyes. He caused the soldiers to be horribly mutilated, pronouncing their sentence in his Ducal Court. The example answered: great terror was excited by Robert's vindictive sternness; and there are circumstances under which respect is rendered to cruelty. Alençon, the capital of the county, so severely punished by William the Bastard and Belesme, the *Caput Baroniæ*, at the two extremities of the Talvas' dominions, were unassailed; but they saw in Robert the son of his inexorable father—the bleeding stumps and mutilated limbs of the Saint Cenery garrison, raised the gaunt spectre of the Conqueror:—affright seized the garrisons, they communicated with each other, and prepared to surrender.

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Cruel treatment of the garrison.

1090, 1091

Robert abandons the enterprize.

Without doubt, the intervening fortresses were like-minded; but at this juncture, Courthose grew weary of exertion, and threw up the expedition. He granted St. Cenery to Robert Giroie, the son of that Robert who was poisoned by his wife Adelaide, the Conqueror's cousin, and returned to Rouen, for the purpose of enjoying idleness and debauchery. Robert thus lost all the political benefit he had gained by his cruelty, but retained the full odium of the act.

Robert de Belesme and Henry released from prison.

Roger de Montgomery, who had waited his opportunity, now solicited the liberation of his son. Courthose assented; Robert de Belesme was set at large by the Duke's permission. Possibly their old companionship, the recollection of the merry days he and Belesme passed together at Abbeville, somewhat influenced him. Belesme's enlargement was immediately followed by his being received into high favour. Beauclerc continued awhile in prison; but the nobles interceded on his behalf. Odo opened the doors of the Bayeux Bastille: no condition was exacted. Henry resumed the Côtentin, Count of the Côtentin, governing independently and sensibly; and securing, till the glittering bait should be held up by Rufus, the good will of the chieftains subjected to his anomalous dominion. Baldwin de Redvers or Rivers, who may be styled Earl of Devon, and Hugh de Avranches, or Hugh Lupus, Earl Palatine of Chester, are quoted in particular,

as his chief adherents, but he was generally supported by the Côtentin Baronage. 1090, 1091

§ 10. After the surrender of Rochester, Rufus earnestly set his heart upon revenge: nevertheless he was so strongly instigated, that we must make allowances for him as a King. Between Rufus and Robert, or rather between Rufus, Robert, and Henry, it had been simply the question, who should strike the first blow for the acquisition of the entire inheritance. Robert made the attempt: not unadvisedly, considering the support that was offered; but he failed. It was now the turn of Rufus to exchange Robert's fire. The strife being opened, the matter could not rest till England conquered Normandy, or Normandy England. The Conqueror's Dominion was tacitly admitted one and indivisible; to be, by fair means or foul, reunited under one Crown. Rufus matures his plans for the acquisition of Normandy.

Rufus prepared for future operations by an ostensible pacification with the lately rebellious Baronage. Mowbray, the most dangerous, returned to the North, his influence and power unaffected. The Northumbrian fortresses were placed anew in a state of defence. Mowbray re-established in the North.

First, bold Alnwick, then also called Murieldene, a strange appellation, concerning which we have a vague supposition, that, corrupted or disguised by transcribers, it has some connexion with Morel, the Vicecomes of Northumberland, the "gossip" of Malcolm Canmore. However,

1090, 1091 Murieldene was then beginning to receive its present denomination, denoting its position upon the bend of the river, the Alne, Allan, or Ellen, the Alwen, the flowing white stream, whose Celtic name murmurs so touchingly the language of a race which has passed away. Tynemouth also, nigh which St. Oswyn's desolated Priory had been splendidly restored by Mowbray's munificence. But chief and noblest of all, Ida's dungeon-tower of Bamburgh, where the swarthy Earl kept his sullen state, as the, successor of the first Bernician King. Here Mowbray had no competitor; he kept aloof from Rufus, making raids at his discretion, plundering the vessels which came into his ports. So unsettled, unconjugal, and wild was his conduct, that, long as he had been married to Matilda de Aquila, they had not yet lived together, in the whole, for so much as three months under one roof, indeed, they never did,—and that spirited woman led a widowed life, mourning, or rejoicing, at the absence of her husband.

Rufus plans to gain over the Norman Baronage.

Without allowing his vigilance to be distracted, for Mowbray was constantly observed, Rufus forthwith applied himself to conciliate the Norman nobility, his endeavours being principally directed to the Haute Normandie. This district, between the Seine and the Channel, composed of the Pays de Caux, the Pays de Brai, and the Roumois, was nearly covered by a group of Ba-

rons, closely connected with the English Crown: many who held English dignities, English titles, English lands, and many more fully accessible to the influence of English money. Rufus, like his father, trusted to conquer as much by gold as by arms. Never was warrior more universally potent in such matters than the hero of the old Spanish romance, Don Dinero. 1090, 1091

§ 11. Having made his arrangements, Rufus summoned a great Council of the Baronage at Winchester. In his address, he adverted emphatically to the fact that his hearers held their lands in both countries; availing himself of the very motives and reasons, the anxieties and inconveniences of a divided allegiance, which had recently instigated the movement against him. The misrule and misgovernment of Normandy, afforded a plausible, almost a valid argument for interference. It was in his power to benefit the Duchy; activity being always, to a certain degree, a corrector of vice. Rufus knew the right: in endeavouring to accomplish the very few good objects which he sought, he was no less ardent than when pursuing evil. The cruelty which deformed his character included the germ of justice. The King therefore expatiated upon the miseries Normandy sustained, promising to restore good order. He would protect the rights of Holy Church, defend widow and orphan, punish robber and assassin by the sword. Great Council at Winchester, Rufus declares his reasons for attacking his Brothers.

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This profession of zeal for the Church might almost have been considered a mockery, throwing doubt upon his other promises; but they were given and taken in the gross. The words of Rufus served their purpose: the flourish of trumpets as a portion of the form and ceremony. The union of Normandy and England was a public and private benefit: the latter driving on the accomplishment of the former: any allegation therefore would suffice as a reason for carrying on the war. The Barons who now supported Rufus felt exactly as they had done when they fought on the other side. Their real concern was the attainment of the political object by which they expected to profit; and the course of events ultimately manifested, that the highest and noblest amongst them cared no more for Rufus, than Robert's adherents cared for him.

Heralds tell us that the shield of the traitorous Knight is to be reversed. Had this law of chivalry been observed in Normandy, would not the beautiful stained glass glowing in the rich Church windows have looked oddly?—the majority of the emblazonments turned upside down, unless a double infidelity authorized Sir Knight to turn his shield right up again.

Names of the Baronage constituting the party of Rufus in Normandy.

§ 12. Stephen of Albemarle, was the first who came over to Rufus: son of Odo Count of Champagne, and Earl of Holderness in England, grandson of Adelaide, the Conqueror's sister, his

lineage placed him amongst the chief nobility. Albemarle, a chef-lieu, so homely in its etymology, so dignified by the ideas associated to the title, was a strong fortress on the river Bresle, dividing Normandy from the French territory. The position of these possessions, as well as Stephen's character, rendered his alliance very important. 1090, 1091 Stephen Count of Albemarle.

Albemarle was followed in his defection from Courthose, by Robert, Count of Eu, Lord of the Honour of Hastings, and subsequently by William his son, who succeeded to the County, as well as to the English Barony, upon his father's death, an event which happened during these contests. Count William had taken a very prominent part in the Odo insurrection; but his fealty to Courthose, and his rebellion against Rufus, were equally forgotten. He and Rufus shook hands again. Peculiarly conspicuous for his base and greedy avarice—*auri ingenti victus aviditate*—William of Eu gave himself up wholly to Rufus, and was the most powerful leader of the treasons against the Duke his Liege Lord. Robert Count of Eu, and William his son.

Furthermore, Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham in England, Seigneur of Longueville in Normandy, still appropriated to the ancient family by the name of Longueville-Giffard, gave his aid. Earl Walter's territory opened the way to Rouen, supplying also points of attack against the two most important adherents of Courthose Walter Giffard Seigneur de Longueville and Earl of Buckingham.

1090, 1091 in those parts, William of Evreux, and faithful Helias de St. Sidoine.

Gerard de Gournay. Rufus was joined by Gerard de Gournay, Lord of Caister nigh Yarmouth, whose original Barony of Gournay, increased by the Conquête of old Hugh, and the most commanding in the Pays de Brai, continued the English line of occupation. His fortresses of Gournay, La-Ferté, and Gaille-Fontaine, constituted a barrier against France. Moreover, Gerard de Gournay was connected by marriage with the House of Evreux: being the son of Basilia, widow of Ralph de Gacé, or Tête-d'Ane, whom Hugh his father had espoused:—therefore it was very advantageous for Rufus to detach him from the Court party.

Through Stephen of Albemarle, who had married Heloisa de Mortimer, Rufus enlisted Ralph Mortimer,—Mortimer the March-Lord; which alliance also secured the aid of various minor adherents. Ralph Mortimer had been strenuous in Robert's cause during the insurrection. As a Norman Baron, Robert was Ralph Mortimer's lawful Sovereign; but none a greater felon against that Sovereign than Mortimer.

Ralph Mortimer.

Philip de Braiosa. Furthermore, Rufus bought the dubious allegiance of the unsteady Philip de Braiosa, the only son of William de Braiosa of Bramber, the great Sussex Baron, and many others, unnamed at present, but who were waiting the opportu-

nity of bringing their allegiance to a profitable market. 1090, 1091

§ 13. Though not immediately, Ralph de Toeny passed over to the Royal cause: this adhesion ensued in consequence of an absurd family quarrel which occasioned great mischief. An outrageous rivalry subsisted between virago Heloise and vixen Isabel. In this dispute they involved their husbands. Evreux and Toeny were at open war with each other, brother against brother, sister against sister, woman against woman. Isabel rode out in full armour, dashing amongst the soldiery, a leader and a follower of the camp—conduct which excited universal amazement in the world of Normandy: we wonder what her husband thought of her. Much scandalized, rather amused, and also tempted to admire, the Monks, rubbing up their learning, exhausted the Classics, in search of apt comparisons. Camilla and Penthesilea, Marpesia, Menalippe, Hippolyte, Thalestris, all the Amazons put together, did not equal this one Isabel.

Dissensions between the Count of Evreux and Ralph de Toeny occasioned by their wives.

Ralph de Toeny, notwithstanding his wife's military talent, perhaps, in consequence of it, had much the worst of the conflict: he applied to Courthose for help. Courthose either could not or would not interfere: Toeny therefore turned to Rufus, by whom he was gladly welcomed. Rufus promised all the assistance in his power. Stephen of Albemarle and Gerard de Gournay joined

1090, 1091 their forces to those of Toeny. The Count of Evreux besieged Conches. Richard de Montfort, doughty Isabel's brother, and the nephew of Count William, was slain. Ralph de Toeny, countenanced by Rufus, got more and more the upper hand. The two brothers compromised their foolish and unnatural dispute; Ralph de Toeny had a younger son, Roger; and the Count of Evreux nominated this young man to be the heir of all his domains: a great joy to Ralph de Toeny and the now proud Isabel—the families were reconciled; but Robert Courthose lost their support, their strength being partly wasted, and partly attracted to his competitor.

Robert applies for aid from King Philip—the latter, bought off by Rufus.

§ 14. Rufus poured his troops into Normandy. The Barons who supported him received the English forces in their Castles and strong places: Eu, Albemarle, Saint Valery, all the positions which Rufus thought fit, were occupied by his garrisons. Robert, distressed by the encreasing disloyalty and faithlessness of subjects and allies, and harassed by his Brother's active policy, now sought assistance from Philip King of France.

Hard indeed, for a descendant of Rollo thus to humble himself, but perplexity allowed him no choice. A strong rivalry between the King of England and Philip had become manifest: reports were afloat concerning the extent of the projects entertained by Rufus. Philip therefore had a decided reason to assist Robert in opposing

the latter: nevertheless the Capet knew his own worth, and his interest too, and he refused to aid unless he received a competent remuneration. Robert's treasury was emptied: nothing had he to give in money: he dared not venture to make any donation at the expence of his Baronage. Still, it is always pleasant to cut thongs out of another man's hide: Courthose therefore tried to draw a draft upon that tempting fund, the property of the Church, and he transferred to Philip a portion of the endowment belonging to the See of Rouen, the Lordship of Gisors; thereby doing an act which might have contributed to his ruin, for Gisors, fourteen leagues from Rouen, fourteen leagues from Paris, is the key and defence of Normandy against France. Moreover the transaction excited just indignation. The Clergy exclaiming against the spoliation, threatened a general interdict; and this was not a time when Robert could afford to incur any unpopularity. 1090, 1091

Philip agreed to accept the price: the sluggish and luxurious monarch advanced at the head of his forces to Robert's aid. The French King and the Norman Duke invested some of the Castles which held for Rufus,—La Ferté, Gournay, and Saint Vallery,—with all their power. But a retreat was soon sounded by the French. If Courthose had promised much in land, Rufus had given more, in ready, sterling money. Gisors

1090, 1091 was not surrendered to Philip, who returned home to his banquets and his gluttony; and the large army which he had raised was dispersed. Flambard, during these transactions, imposed a heavy, and, as the English complained, an illegal tax or geld upon the realm. This levy furnished the means of paying the price, the "very great treasure," which persuaded Philip to abandon Robert's cause.

Robert marries his daughter to Helias de Saint Sidoine.

§ 15. Alarming as open defections may have been to Courthose, he had greater reason to apprehend danger from well-known, though as yet, undeclared, enemies. The interest of Rufus spread rapidly. In every Bailliage, Barons and Vavassours expected to hail the King of England's banner, and to touch the King of England's money. Courthose started out of his lethargy, and sought more supporters and allies, though few were open to him. He formed a closer connexion with the Seigneur of St. Sidoine: Robert gave his daughter in marriage to Helias, —bestowing upon the damsel in dowry, the noble castle of Arques, which we cannot mention without thinking of its grey ruins on the grassy steep. The Castle of St. Sidoine is higher up, upon the same river. To this, was added Bures; and Helias was entrusted with the command of the whole "Pagus Talogiensis," or County of the Tala-Ou.

The St. Sidoine Seignory thus enlarged,

became an excellent barrier, against the Houses of Eu and Giffard. The alliance contained a better element than military strength. Helias possessed a rarer quality than power: he was honest and truthful, and continued to love Robert Courthose, his wife's father, sincerely, when overwhelmed by misfortune. For Robert's sake, Helias sustained confiscation, exile, persecution, poverty. So long as he lived, did Helias de St. Sidoine manifest his conscientious and consistent affection and fidelity. 1090, 1091

§ 16. Courthose fell sick, probably from intemperance; and he sustained the additional vexation of receiving bad news from Maine. The Manceaux, encouraged by the quarrel between Rufus and Robert, endeavoured to avail themselves of the diversion which these dissensions afforded, and prepared to throw off their enforced subjection. Ugone d'Este, the rich Marquis of Liguria, had been invited to cross the Alps, and regain his Tramontane inheritance: Robert was compelled to dread the loss of the dominions which he so much prized. Fulk Réchin of Anjou. Robert treats with him to procure his help against the Manceaux.

In this emergency, Robert opened a negociation with Fulk Réchin, in order to obtain his co-operation against the agitators. A dangerous experiment, considering the claims put forth by ambitious Anjou: Robert was rousing the sleeping Lion. The Lion proved very tame. Fulk was cultivated and clever; but cultivation is not

1090, 1091 wisdom, nor cleverness either; Fulk's acquirements and talents sufficed not to preserve him from egregious absurdities and follies, which encreased upon him with age—*Male incœpit, pejus vixit, pessime finivit*, is the funeral oration pronounced over Fulk Réchin's bier, by the Monk of Marmoustier; and his common sense seems to have diminished in the same ratio.

The delighted Count of Anjou determined immediately to repair to Rouen, where he found Robert convalescent. Such alacrity must have been considered a token of great earnestness on Robert's behalf; or, if wise men chose to be suspicious, of Fulk's eagerness to gain some advantage. So it was; he did intend to profit by the opening, though after a course differing widely from any which could have been anticipated.

Fulk Réchin demands Bertrada de Montfort as the price of his co-operation.

After many pleasant and friendly discourses, during which Robert solicited the aid of Fulk to keep down the Manceaux, the Angevine replied by a confidence of love—"I am in love," said crook-shoed, cornard Fulk,—not old enough to be called a dotard, however he may have acted like one,—"I am in love with sweet Bertrada de Montfort, the fair niece of the Count of Evreux, the orphan girl, whom her aunt the Countess Heloise now educates with so much care. Do this one thing for me: obtain Bertrada for me, and I will subdue the Manceaux, and help thee

faithfully for ever."—Robert was most willing to comply, but he had no authority: he could only persuade; and the request was communicated to Count William. This matrimonial negociation excited great interest in the House of Evreux. A family Council was held, friends and relations, uncles and aunts, nephews, nieces, cousins, and chaplains, called in; and the matter being well discussed, the Count of Evreux proceeded to Court. 1090, 1091

Count William began in a tone of indignation—"What," said he, "sacrifice my niece, that tender young thing whom my dying brother entrusted to my care, by condemning her to the embraces of Fulk Réchin, he who still has two wives, alive and hearty: a vile bargain on your part, to purchase Maine by the sale of our Bertrada, who is not yours to sell, at the same time that you rob me of my inheritance. I cannot think of such a thing, unless you restore me Bavent, Noyon-sur-Andele, Gravençon, Gacé, Ecouché, and all the other lands which ought to have come to me from my uncle Tête-d'Ane. Moreover, my nephew William de Breteuil, who stands here, must have Pont Saint-Pierre, and all other the domains that belong to him also. Let this be done, then perhaps we may think better of the matter, and the match may proceed according to Fulk's desire." William of Evreux agrees for his own profit, to bestow Bertrada upon Fulk Réchin.

These terms did not entirely please Courthose:

1090, 1091 usually he was profuse in his donations; now, a paroxoysm of prudence came on. He expected to propitiate Fulk without cost; but, after considering the matter with Edgar Atheling, William de Arches, and Robert de Belesme, he agreed to the terms, save and except as to Ecouché, from which place they could not dislodge the Gournay family. The delicate and elegant girl, distinguished equally by her talents and by her beauty, was taken home by hobbling Fulk as his fourth wife, a reluctant, timid, disgusted bride. Yet in due time after the marriage she presented him with a son, Fulk, "le Jeune," the father of Geoffrey Plantagenet.

Ugone, the son of Albert Azzo of Este, obtains the county of Maine.

§ 17. Fulk Réchin did not neglect his part of the engagement: persuasives, good words, the display of adequate force, all employed by him, kept the Mançeaux quiet for about a year. He then ceased to exercise any further influence on Robert's behalf,—domestic affairs and Bertrada gave him quite employment enough. Anjou's pressure being withdrawn, the dissensions between Rufus and Robert encouraged the Mançeaux to execute the plans they had formed for asserting their independence, and also facilitated their exertions. They rose simultaneously, expelled the Norman garrison from the Conqueror's towers, and Mans was free. United in this national object, the succession continued unsettled, nor were their dissensions allayed. Helias de la

Flèche entered Balaon, so lately won by thrift- 1090, 1091
less Robert: thriftless even in his cruelty. But he received a serious check. Ugone, the son of Albert Azzo, the rich Marquis of Liguria, reputed son-in-law of Robert Guiscard, fancied by the Mançeaux to be so brave, wealthy, and liberal, was approaching. Geoffrey de Mayenne and all his party supported Ugone; therefore they kept away from Helias; and Bishop Hoel, stubborn, and faithful to the Conqueror's memory, employed all possible influence against him.

Bishop Hoel imprisoned by Helias de la Flèche.

Helias, noble spirited and generous, was hasty. Forgetting all his respect for the Church and ecclesiastical immunities, he seized Bishop Hoel, kept the Prelate in close confinement, of which the irksomeness was encreased by the sentinels constantly stationed in his chamber. A poor lack-learning priest, the only attendant allowed to the Bishop, was selected on account of his ignorance; because, could he have talked Grammar-Latin, he and Bishop Hoel might have held conversation and deceived the Warders. This outrage occasioned great trouble, the Bishop undergoing prison discipline, the Clergy mourning, lamenting, and complaining: bells silenced, shrines and crosses taken down and laid flat on the pavement, huge fagots of thorns piled up in the porches and heaped against the Church-doors; symbols of tribulation. Helias relented, repented, released the Bishop, and implored forgiveness;

1090, 1091 the Bishop readily granted pardon; but Helias was for the present stayed in his career.

Bishop Hoel does not assent to the accession of Ugone, and quits Le Mans.

Ugone, son of Albert Azzo, grandson of Hubert Wake-the-dogs, made his joyous entry into Mans, first winding below the Roman walls which protrude their solid bastion-towers, then ascending the steep City hill. Courthose had been received with great shew of obedience: equally so was Ugone; and the Ligurian Count was inaugurated by the citizens. But the ceremonial was incomplete. Ugone, the old citizens might say, was not a legitimate Count according to King Childebert's Charter. The Bishop was an integral member of the Cenomanensian Commonwealth. The nomination of Ugone was unsanctioned by the Prelate, who, repairing to Rouen, bore the news of the defection. Robert had relapsed into his sloth. He refused to make any further exertion; intimated he cared nothing more for Maine, he would let the Manceaux alone, and in this mood he advised the Bishop to return. Bishop Hoel made his way back, but he could not go home, he found Ugone lodged in the Episcopal Palace, placed there by the citizens: a residence honourable and defensible, Palace and Cathedral constituted a castle. Bishop Hoel, compelled to lodge where he could, took up his station at the Monastery of St. Vincent, then in the meadows without the walls. Ugone, mean, cowardly, greedy, and needy, proved incompetent to the task of

government. No daughter of Guiscard accompanied him as Countess, he had shamed and repudiated the noble damsel. 1090, 1091

To make matters worse, a disgraceful quarrel took place among the Clergy. We will spare ourselves the particulars. Bishop Hoel again abandoned his See, knowing it would be useless to expect any help from Robert. Hoel's pertinacious fidelity now conducted him to England. Concerting further operations with Rufus, Hoel sought his See again, but not daring to enter Mans, he retreated to Solême, on the banks of the Sarthe, a monastery, which, abandoned to destruction, has renewed its moral existence; the death-bed repentance of Santerre having furnished to the Abbot's zealous piety, the chief resources by which the sanctuary has been re-endowed.

Disturbances in Le Mans. Ugone finally abandons Le Mans. Helias obtains the County.

In consequence of these disputes, Mans suffered greatly. Trade and business was interrupted. We can picture Mans in those days: the tall stone-houses, of which many, still existing in the Bourg, are probably scarcely posterior to the time of Helias, display the wealth of the Burghers, and seem to have furnished the model of similar buildings in England. Crafts and trades were impoverished, and Ugone, whose incapacity encreased the evil, was therefore the more hated and the more despised. The divorce of his wife Heria became peculiarly detrimental to his cha-

1090, 1091 racter: having incurred the Papal excommunication, it is possible that some may have thought that he was thereby excluded from dominion.

Under these circumstances the prospects of Helias brightened; and he acted prudently, avoiding those harsh proceedings, which in the event of present success, might alienate the feelings of the people at a future period. Instead of attempting any hostile measures which would have weakened the country, and created inimical feuds, he employed himself in winning over the Manҫeaux; and Bishop Hoel, who might have crossed his projects, abstained from any exertions. Ugone became tired of his uneasy Transalpine Sovereignty. Helias then began to work upon him, magnifying the dangers of his situation: what might not he, Ugone, apprehend from Normandy?—The Marquis turned all he could lay hands on, into money; and sold all his rights to Helias for ten thousand sols, Manҫeaux currency. Ugone then departed for his own country, where, behaving treacherously against the great Countess Matilda, he died in disgrace and poverty. Helias de la Flèche became Count of Maine; and although he subsequently sustained many reverses, he regained and retained the County, proving a most able and efficient Sovereign.

The citizens of Rouen

§ 18. There was no part of Normandy where Rufus was acquiring more valuable influence than

in Rouen. The ancient Roman colony, encreasing in circuit and population, had encreased in prosperity. Transmitted to us through the ordinances and Charters of Philip-Augustus, the municipal organization of Rouen under the French Kings, affords evidence of the citizens' franchises during the Ducal era: for we may safely assume as a principle, that such apparent concessions are the amplifications or confirmations of pre-existent privileges analogous if not identical. Rouen under Robert would be well able to supply the Hundred Peers, who had the choice of the Echevins; and at this period Conan son of Gilbert Pilate, and William Fitz-Augier, were amongst the most wealthy citizens. A commercial population would naturally incline towards a maritime alliance: the insolence of the Court retainers affronted the Burghers. Robert's extravagance and unthrift provoked their contempt. Moreover the proposed cession of Gisors grieved the Archbishop, discontented the Clergy, and alienated the public mind. Rufus distributed his gifts freely, exciting expectations of more ample largesses; and the leading classes readily combined with the Royal emissaries for the purpose of deposing the indolent Duke, and surrendering both their Sovereign and his city to the active King.

1090, 1091 conspire for the purpose of dethroning Robert, and surrendering him and the city to Rufus.

Conan, the chief man in the great trading community, was the head and prime mover of

Conan, the son of Gilbert Pilate, leader of the plot.

1090, 1091 the English party. His riches and connexions enabled him to collect a very numerous array of adherents. It was settled, that on the morrow of All Souls, the solemn festival now universally established throughout Western Christendom, the citizens should rise on behalf of Rufus, and the garrisons of Gournay and the other fortresses, which, at lesser or greater distances encircled Rouen, advance simultaneously to the city, and occupy it on the King's behalf. The majority of the citizens concurred in the defection. Courthose or his advisers obtained intelligence of the conspiracy, which, including so many agents, could not be easily concealed; he assembled the few friends whom he retained, and invited the support of his brother Henry. There existed no common feeling amongst the Conqueror's sons, except mutual ill-will; upon this, Courthose relied. It suited Henry to help one brother, that he might the better thwart the other equally hated enemy. William of Evreux, William de Breteuil, Gilbert de l'Aigle the Mowbray's brother-in-law, and above all, ferocious Belesme, continued stanch; and Robert anticipated more than victory: revenge.

Robert obtains Henry's assistance.

All the antiquities of Rothomagum are rapidly disappearing, hamlet and village absorbed in the continuous mazes of the manufacturing metropolis, Churches and Convents demolished, or sustaining a worse desecration than mere ruin:

subjected to the defilements of the workshop, the barrack, the theatre, and the jail. During the last quarter of a century, this process has advanced with accelerated rapidity; yet perhaps there may be some few persons surviving, who recollect the last remains of the ancient Palatial Castle, the outer walls whereof stood adjoining the brink of the river. A very lofty and solid tower, ascribed to Richard Sans Peur, but which, judging from description, was probably erected upon Roman foundations, constituted the building's chief feature, ornament and defence. Within the Palace precinct, Robert Courthose was acknowledged as a Sovereign, but within the precinct only. The city owned him not: Rouen's citizens were Rouen's masters. 1090, 1091

The leaders on behalf of Robert, concerted, that, for the purpose of restoring his authority, and anticipating the enemy, Gilbert de Aquila, who commanded a body of the Ducal forces, stationed towards the South-west of the Seine, should, on the day appointed for the outbreak, surprize the city by a coup de main. Early in the morning, therefore, Aquila and his troops, galloping along the new bridge, entered the city. Conan, equally alert, had mustered the citizens: some detachments of the King's troops were already admitted; and, exactly at the time when Gilbert de Aquila was making his assault, Warrenne, Gournay's brother-in-law, entered

1090. 3 Nov. The attack of Rouen.

1090, 1091 through the Porte Cauchoise, the high road opening towards the Bailliages of the Pays de Caux and the Pays de Brai, districts where Rufus was most in power. The Ducal and Royal troops encountered each other immediately within the walls, and the fray began in right earnest.

The citizens, to their great mischief and subsequent sorrow, became engaged and involved in the conflict. Some mixed themselves with Robert's troops, many more with the Royalists. Robert, stationed in the Castle, sallied forth with Beauclerc to support his partizans; but the Ducal forces were, or seemed to be, unequally matched. The close and narrow streets, dark and tortuous defiles swarming with population, resounded with the cries of the combatants, womens' shrieks, the smash and dint, the clash and clang of arms. Fear magnified the numbers of the hostile crowds. Robert's heart failed: supported in his cowardice by the dishonourable connivance of his suite, who urged that a Duke should not expose himself to such dangers, he retreated from Rouen, and, getting into a little boat, took refuge at Ermondeville, now a suburb, but then a detached village, sheltering himself in the monastery of Ste. Marie des Bonnes Nouvelles, where Matilda received the tidings of her husband's conquest. The donations which the Conqueror's Son afterwards bestowed upon the Monks, testify his panic and his gratitude.

Robert's panic.

This scurry was equally ludicrous and disgraceful; whilst Robert was running away, his men were gaining an easy victory. Beauclerc took the command; Gilbert de Aquila joined his troops to those of Henry. They tramped through and through Rouen, cutting and treading down all before them; and the rebels, since their defeat entitles us to call them so, were routed with great slaughter. 1090, 1091

§ 19. Whilst the wailings of the multitude, striving and fleeing, bleeding and expiring beneath hoof and blade, rejoiced the Ducal partisans, Conan had been captured. Tranquillity being restored, he was brought before Courthose for judgment. Robert condemned the traitor to perpetual imprisonment. He spared Conan's life, not in mercy, but vindictively, with the declared purpose of prolonging the criminal's misery. Robert's dissolute life rendered him savage: he thought truly—and knew it too truly when the lot fell on himself—that no punishment is so great as life, lengthened and dragging on, in weary and hopeless captivity. Henry, equally savage, but wiser, determined to put Conan to death. Suffering keeps up sympathy, and supports the sufferer's cause. Death ends sympathy, whilst the terror remains. He therefore required that Conan should be delivered into his power. Conan captured.

Henry collared the captive and dragged him to the summit of Duke Richard's Dungeon tower. Henry acts as Conan's executioner.

1090, 1091 Here the future King of England bitterly mocked the wretch, bidding him look down and admire the smiling, fertile country, which he had attempted to win for Rufus' cause, mead and glade, watered by the winding, island-dotted Seine. Conan, too well aware of the fate awaiting him, cried aloud, imploring mercy, offering gifts, promising fidelity. "No ransom for a traitor," exclaimed Henry. Conan, in agony, entreated but one, one mercy only—that he might confess his sins — Beauclerc, grinning with rage, and clenching his victim with both his hands, pushed the howling Conan off, hurling him over the battlements, whirring down the height. The mangled corpse, contumeliously dragged amidst the soaking filth from end to end of the city, gave an insulting warning to his compeers and townsmen: telling them what measure they had to expect. Henceforth, Duke Richard's Dungeon tower, called the *Saut de Conan*, became the caitiff's monument and preserved his history.

Pillage of Rouen.

Robert was somewhat inclined to deal mercifully with the citizens; but the Baronage and soldiery would not be baulked. They despised the Duke's sympathy, and entirely counteracted his faint good will. Rouen, treated as a conquest, was abandoned to pillage. The plunder, which in such lucky seasons, was robbed and lifted from chest and store, constituted the small-

est portion of the booty. The crock deeply buried in the cellar, the casket built up in the hole in the wall, the gold deposited in the cell of the distant monastery, and which the trusty guardian would never deliver except to the messenger who certified his authority by the mystic grip, the thumb thrice pressed on the wrist,—these were the prizes to which the soldiers looked for their reward. Therefore, the capture of a city was only the preliminary to the cruelties, wrenching from the wealthy the treasures dearer to them than their lives. The Rouen burghers themselves, constituted the very cream of the Rouen booty. Ask who had been the richest citizen in Rouen—William Fitz-Augier.—Ask where he is—starving in cold and filth, his flesh cankered by chains, deep in William de Breteuil's dungeon, from whence he will not be released till he has paid his ransom, three thousand pounds. Henry gave this sum for the Côtentin, so that one substantial burgher was worth as much to his captor as the finest province in Normandy. 1090, 1091

Cruelties inflicted on the citizens.

This particular example enables us to estimate the amount of the extortions which the burghers sustained, but no adequate idea is thereby conveyed of their vexations and sufferings. William de Breteuil employed duresse and torture professionally, he only wanted the money; but Belesme was never contented unless

1090, 1091 he enjoyed the excitement of inflicting agony. The most atrocious and beastly of the inflictions practised in the East were familiar to him; and he rejoiced in being the executioner.

The Normans were now experiencing the miseries they had inflicted upon England. Their proud and ancient capital even suffered more than the English metropolis; London had never been spoiled, never pillaged, never had one London citizen been insulted by a Norman Baron. The retributive lesson was not profitless—many consciences still continued uneasy, and they considered the desolation of Rouen as a national punishment.

Norman dissensions. Robert de Belesme prominent in them.

§ 20. Nevertheless the most permanent affliction sustained by Normandy, was the absence of any sovereign power to protect the weak against the strong, the strong against each other. The dissensions amongst the Baronage involved the whole country in confusion. The families were bound together by a net-work of pedigrees, the meshes knotted into each other; if one was rent, you never could tell how far the mischief would extend. Not entirely ineffectual were the offices of the Church; but the want of truth and fidelity amongst the Baronage enfeebled the moral principle, upon which the coercive and corrective authority of religion is founded. Old quarrels were revived: new, taken up with virulent pertinacity. Litigiousness and violence combined:

the disputants were parties in a lawsuit, carrying on that suit with swords in their hands. 1090, 1091

Robert de Belesme arose prominent in the general fray: his power was much encreased by his marriage with Agnes de Ponthieu; sooner or later, it was certain that the County of Ponthieu would fall to him. Count Guy, the contemporary of Harold and of the Conqueror, was waxing old, the Lady Agnes, his only surviving child and heiress. Nevertheless, so wildly ferocious was Belesme, that he treated his wife very cruelly, keeping her in rigorous confinement in the Castle of Belesme, without any assignable cause, except his malignity. The disorders were much encreased by Courthose's inconsiderateness: he made grants, almost at random, of disputed castles and domains, so that the grantee took the quarrel as a charge upon the estate. Belesme's expectations of Ponthieu.

Possibly, like other Barons, Belesme had occasionally some colour for his aggressions, founding his claims upon the antecedent tenures or occupancies of his family. There is some uncertainty concerning the boundary which should be assigned to the ancient County of Alençon. Robert de Belesme claimed the whole territory included in the Bishopric of Seez; and it is not entirely clear, whether he did not entertain a plan of becoming Lay-Bishop; at all events, the Bishop was constantly the object of his persecution. So also, did he pertinaciously assail the Baronage Belesme's claims upon the whole Bishopric of Seez.

1090, 1091 of the Pays de Houlme, a district which he was intent upon subduing.

Hugh de Grantmesnil, now very aged, though an occasional visitant in England, never returned to settle there after the Odo conspiracy; and his English domains continued, with few exceptions, in the King's hands. Hugh took to good works, employing himself mainly in the restoration of St. Evroul, comforting himself with devotion amongst the Monks; living much with them. We believe that a great deal of our narrative is grounded upon Grantmesnil's recollections. Few amongst the Norman Baronage had so large a family as Grantmesnil, connected so widely and so nobly. Rohezia, the seventh amongst his children, was married to Robert de Courcy, ancestor of the Barons of Kinsale; and the Sires of Courcy were the peculiar objects of Belesme's hostility. Belesme, countenanced and supported by Duke Robert, occupied the Houlme, in which country he built two Castles, one at Fourches, and the other at Château-Gonthier; structures shewing the thorough determination he had formed of trusting to absolute force.

Belesme attacks the Grantmesnil and Courcy families.

Hugh de Grantmesnil and Richard de Courcy, Robert de Courcy's father, though old and broken, came forth valiantly: their connexions crowded to their aid, so indeed did many of the Baronage less immediately involved, for all dreaded

Belesme's tyranny. This resistance was formidable to Belesme, and he induced the unwise Courthose to join him in the enterprize; one of the Duke's numberless mistakes. The attack in which Courthose aided, would, if successful, only have encreased the influence of a most dangerous chieftain, and, if unsuccessful, only alienate him from the other Baronage. The united forces of Belesme and Courthose, for it is right to put the so-called vassal first, proceeded to blockade Courcy; Courcy-sur-Dive, not far from Falaise. 1090, 1091

§ 21. Operations against Courcy were conducted after a strange fashion: many lives were lost on both sides; yet the conflict might seem a species of rough May-game. Courcy and its district possessed only a single oven, on the outside of the walls, in which the besieged were accustomed to bake their bread. It was evidently what is called a bannal-oven, of which the lord enjoyed the monopoly, as still is the case in some Scottish regalities. Therefore the lord hitherto permitted no other ovens in Courcy, and now, they had not time to build an additional one. Every day, there was regularly a scuffling skirmish round the oven, townsmen and garrison fighting for their baking, Courthose and the besiegers striving to drive them away, but with constant slaughter. In one of these conflicts, upwards of a score of good men, whom Ordericus bitterly laments, were killed. The Bishop of Seez interfered for the Details of the siege of Courcy.

1090, 1091 purpose of inducing a pacification. His groom or serving-lad exercising a horse, was captured by the besiegers, who made prize of the animal. —This is set down as a remarkable incident.

Important military movements may frequently be briefly dismissed with a sentence; but the ferocious pettiness of warfare during the Anglo-Norman period, must occasionally be described minutely, because minute details alone elucidate the peculiar characteristics, distinguishing an age in which war was almost unnaturally destitute of the pomp and pride of circumstance: it was dull work, though bloody. The soldiery usually fought with no higher ardour than the crew of a privateer. Even the Conqueror's splendour, and the romantic aspirations of Rufus could not raise the general average.

1091. February. Rufus had bided his time, and exactly when Courthose was most involved and perplexed, he appeared in the field. The unwelcome intelligence took Robert Courthose completely by surprize. His forces were very small; but what was infinitely more to his disadvantage, his heart entirely failed him. The fit of cowardice came on again: he became extremely terrified. Rufus was marching towards Courcy. Courthose ran away: his troops dispersed, and all his partizans returned to their homes.

The Normans receive In the same degree that the arrival of Rufus distressed his brother, so was it welcome to the

Normans of every degree, who received him by acclamation. They flocked to him, offering gifts with the hopes of receiving more: his very vices qualified Rufus to be a great Condottiere; all the mercenaries of the surrounding states, Bretons, Poitevins, Flemings, Frenchmen—the latter being always carefully distinguished in Normandy from the Normans—were equally zealous in testifying their devotion to the merry, debauched, military-minded King. 1090, 1091 Rufus zealously.

§ 22. Thus supported, William dictated the terms of pacification. Robert did not attempt resistance: how could he? he was virtually dethroned. The brothers met at Rouen, bitterly hating each other, but united in hatred against Henry. We have just seen how earnestly Beauclerc had been engaged in the service of Courthose, no one tells us how or why they became so suddenly alienated: the fact comes upon us unexpectedly, but it was their usual way. The Chroniclers therefore do not take the trouble to comment upon the renewed enmity. Robert ceded to Rufus the superiorities of Eu and of Albemarle, of Gournay and of Conches, with all their appurtenances and dependencies: the greater part of the Pays de Caux became the King's unquestioned dominion. Morever, Rufus obtained the Suzerainship or Seignory of Fécamp, and of Cherbourg, and the Mont St. Michel in the Côtentin, provided Henry could be expelled. By Courthose compelled to accept a pacification upon disadvantageous terms.

1090, 1091 this surrender, Robert's territories were so broken up, that he could only continue to reign as long as it suited his brother.

Terms of the treaty. Another ungrateful condition, soon afterwards enforced by Rufus, was, that Robert should banish his friend, his counsellor, the only one about him, save Helias de Saint Sidoine, possessing any worth of character, Edgar the Atheling. In return, William promised to support Robert's assertion of the family claim upon Mans, and to restore his English lands: and in this restoration he engaged to include all the Normans, who, by supporting the cause of Robert, had incurred a forfeiture. Lastly, if either Rufus or Courthose should die without a son born in lawful marriage, the kingdom of England should revert to the survivor. No stipulation more remarkable than this: one object, no doubt, was to extinguish any hope that might be entertained by the Porphyrogenitus, their common enemy. But the clause had a farther and more extensive application; the very careful and cautious wording of the treaty confirmed a new constitutional principle, namely, that bastardy, hitherto tolerated in the Ducal family, was henceforward to be an exclusion: and the sons of Courthose, Richard and William, with as good a title as the Conqueror himself, were, so far as these young and active men might submit to the degradation, entirely put away.

The illegitimate sons of Courthose excluded from the succession.

The treaty was confirmed with unusual solemnity. Twelve Proceres of Normandy appeared as the respective vouchers for Rufus and for Courthose, becoming pledges that the treaty should be observed, which pledge they gave upon oath; the brothers had no faith or trust in each other, nor could they deal with any confidence or security. 1090, 1091

§ 23. Nevertheless, they were united at present by one common object, the expulsion of their brother. Rufus, joining Robert in command, invaded the Côtentin. Beauclerc earned no forbearance from his brothers, nor did he intend to practise any. Collecting forces from Brittany as well as from Normandy, he garrisoned Coutances and Avranches, and prepared energetically for war; but the power, the talent, above all, the riches of Rufus, terrified, alienated or seduced, Beauclerc's most influential adherents. Hugh, Earl of Chester, whom we should here designate as Hugh of Avranches, and the majority of the Baronage, deserted his cause. They acted confessedly upon calculation. Henry was poor, compared with his brother of England; and the defection became so general, that within a short space of time the Mont St. Michel was the only fortress remaining to him, and here he sought refuge against his enemies. Rufus and Robert unite for the purpose of expelling Henry.

St. Michel, *in periculo maris*, well deserves its name; but the inundations which submerged the forest, whose trunks are buried deep below, Beauclerc besieged on the Mont St. Michel.

1090, 1091 have been stayed; Abbey and Castle still defy the tempest and the ocean. The encircling tiers of towers and bartizans, arch above arch, buttress above buttress, battlement above battlement, unite with the crag's rugged sides, until they reach the base of the ancient Church, which crowns the pyramid. During flood tides, the rock can only be approached by very small boats, and with considerable difficulty: and when the water has ebbed, the fortress receives protection from the moist treacherous sands, in which its image looms, an unvaried, sullen, monotonous mirror, between the rock and shore.

Distress of the garrison of the Mont St. Michel.

Rufus and Robert blockaded the fortress, occupying the coast, until, as they expected, the garrison could be distressed into a surrender. Henry, whose soldiers were acquainted with the tracks where a harder substratum afforded some surer footing beneath the yielding uniform surface, harassed his opponents by constant sallies. They were compelled to make these ventures. The Mount is an unbroken granite boulder; no spring whatever gushes from the rock, and the garrison suffered extremely from want of fresh water. The besieging forces diligently guarded the only source from which they could be supplied. Beauclerc entreated Robert to war against them like a soldier, but not to deprive them of the necessaries of life. Robert, moved by this entreaty, or seeming to be so, directed the sentinels

not to be over-vigilant when the garrison endeavoured to draw from the well. Rufus upbraided the humanity of his brother :—"You will keep good store of enemies if you give them meat and drink!"—"And if we allow our brother to perish," replied Robert,—"where shall we find another when he is lost?"—Words which would deserve little notice, but for the manner in which they have been echoed from history to history. 1090, 1091

Were we to judge of Monarchs by the extreme care with which their smallest participation in the common sympathies of humanity is hailed, we should form a lower estimate of them than they deserve. These sycophantisms defame the Royal character, by giving the impression that it is needful to rebut a *prima facie* presumption, of their being worse than other men. It is a proof of the inherent sanctity of the ordinance, that Royalty withstands the reaction resulting from the obsequiousness by which Sovereigns are assailed. Total failures are these artifices, if employed for the purpose of conciliating favour on behalf of Royalty. No reasoning can reconcile Royalty, and above all, Hereditary Royalty, to human reason. Moral Instinct, not intelligence, compels the submission of human society to the institution. It has no real moral support except when received as a Divine appointment, imposed by the transgressions of mankind.

1090, 1091

Rufus unhorsed during the Siege—exaggerated praise bestowed upon his conduct.

The warfare was conducted, on both sides, in a desultory and ineffective manner. On one occasion, a sally having been made, a Norman horseman is dismounted, dragged in his stirrup and attacked by Beauclerc's soldier, whose sword is about to cut him down.—"I am the King of England." The exclamation, extorted by imminent peril, stayed the assailant's hand: the soldier drew back terrified, and a pause ensued. Rufus remounted his horse, and commanded his enemy to stand before him. The man did so, boldly, and Rufus immediately retained him in his own service: an incident sometimes coloured, like the preceding, by exaggerated commendation, as exhibiting what is called chivalrous magnanimity, but not peculiar to any particular era, nor shewing either military talent or greatness of soul.

Henry capitulates, abandons the Côtentin, and becomes a species of adventurer.

At length Henry capitulated and evacuated the Abbatial fortress, with all the honours of war. The Côtentin reverted apparently to Robert, but really to the Baronage; and in the course of these conflicts all Henry's wealth had been dissipated and lost. He was penniless. For some months afterwards, he wandered as an adventurer in Brittany, and afterwards in the Beaucassin and the adjoining parts of France. He was lodged now here, now there, receiving an ambiguous hospitality, afforded as much by self-interest as by pity; for in such cases the possibility of the reversion of royal authority, however remote, is

never dismissed, either from the object of sympathy, or those by whom it is afforded. One Clerk, one Knight, and three Esquires, composed Beauclerc's train. During this discipline of transient adversity, men gave him credit for acquiring lessons turned to good account, when he ascended the English throne. He saw much of human nature, but on the worst side, and his future life, as a Prince and a Sovereign, declared too clearly that he never was taught mercy, forbearance, or tenderness, by any trial which he himself sustained. 1090, 1091

§ 24. Beauclerc, having thus quitted the field, Rufus proceeded, wisely and considerately, to settle the affairs of Normandy. *Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt*, is not a universal truth: nay, applied dogmatically, rather demonstrates ignorance of human nature. Outward pressure sometimes makes the particles even of solid bodies take a new set; and there is no greater cause of change in man's mode of action, than a removal beyond the sea. With respect to Governments and Governors, the chance is, that they deteriorate by transplantation: but if we are to consider England as the home of Rufus, the alteration, in his case, was for the better. When exercising authority in Normandy, his conduct exhibited few of the evils which marked his rule in England. No rivalry appeared between Rufus and Courthose; the Rufus employed in settling the affairs of Normandy.

1090, 1091 Brethren acted as joint Sovereigns, administering a trust in which they were equally interested, seeking the good of their common inheritance.

The Articles of Lillebonne renewed. King and Duke called before them the Bishops and Barons of Normandy, and promulgated the ancient Articles of justice, the prerogative code employed by the Dukes for securing the country's peace, the yoke, the bridle, the terror of Baronial power, the same which the Conqueror renewed at Lillebonne. The Brothers were proceeding effectually: a happier period seemed to be approaching, when sudden and alarming intelligence was received, how the Scottish King, Malcolm Canmore, the husband of the English Atheliza Margaret, had passed the border; and Rufus determined to return and face the enemy.

1091. August. Rufus suddenly called to Scotland.

Chapter VII.

ANGLO-SAXON SCOTLAND.

1057—1107.

1057, 1107

The principles of historical reproduction.

§ 1. An Historian reproducing the past, may be compared to a draftsman, who restores the plan of an ancient edifice. The ruin's first aspect presents unconnected, picturesque, fragmentary variety, interesting in each portion, but unintelligible as a whole. Here, a tower standing firm, but open to the sky; there, a detached oratory, retaining the vaulted roof which protects the still unmutilated fret-work, the foliaged canopies, and the solemn imagery; further on, the smooth-spread grassy turf, without a vestige; then an uncouth rocky mass, deprived of every architectural feature; and this rough rubble core is followed by a lofty, perfect, fair, but abruptly broken portal; whilst in other places, the foundations can alone be discovered, when you excavate deeply beneath the soil.

A delineation, exhibiting nought but the objects seen by the eye, and measured by the rod, would neither instruct nor please. In such a case, therefore, the artist never scruples to complete the ichnography of the building, from the remains which have escaped destruction. But, although neither visible nor tangible on the site,

1057, 1107 the lines he employs to perfect the ground-plot cannot be called imaginary. They are directed by the axis of the structure, they shoot out of the existing portions: the column on the right hand asks for a corresponding column on the left; the transept must have had a closing wall: the presbytery gives the infallible suggestion for the choir, terminated by the altar. If you find the Baptistery, you may be certain it contained a font: from existing data, you deduce the whole.

Such is the task of the Historian. Occasionally there may be some one authority furnishing him with satisfactory testimony concerning a peculiar passage or era—testimony, ample and satisfactory as the providential chances whereby the evidences of history are transmitted to us, can ever be expected to afford. But far more frequently we possess the materials of history only in fragments, notices and hints—brief, discontinuous, imperfect, ill-defined, separated occasionally by long intervals, and then heaped up and running together, which cannot be rendered useful to the student, excepting through the Teacher who works them up into a unity;—by his conjectures, if you choose; but unless cast into a systematic form, they are unprofitable. If you wander amongst the ruins without the Guide, their mutual relation will be lost.

Similes expanded into details lose their applicability. We shall therefore content ourselves

with observing, that the preceding considerations arose within the precincts of St. Andrew's Cathedral. Scanty as the relics are, the tower of St. Regulus is so perfect, his Chapel so significant, the dilapidated Western portal, the venerable melancholy termination of the Eastern choir, so suggestive, and so connected by the intervening ruins, that a skilful Ecclesiologist could not feel any difficulty in completing the scheme of the edifice. Here digging, here delving, here pacing the turf, his scientific pencil would aggregate the dispersed members into one harmonious frame. He would lecture satisfactorily upon the developement of Scottish architecture, during the whole period between the erection of the Sanctuary, when the first stone of that noble and lofty tower was laid, to the fatal era of Cardinal Beatoun, and the fane's destruction. 1057, 1107

§ 2. With respect to Scottish history, the difficulties attending the investigation of its varied themes, are not more formidable, on the average, than those encountered by any Enquirer who has to deal with the formation of the States composing the European commonwealth. Characteristics of the materials of Scottish history.

Even the much-mooted Pictish controversy does not compel us to make an exception. Every portion of human history offers difficulties, which neither research, nor talents, nor acuteness, can possibly remove; and this for the very plain and simple reason, that we possess not the The Pictish controversy insoluble.

1057, 1107

facts upon which any judgment can be founded. The Pictish vessel is seen in the distant horizon, she approaches rapidly till you clearly distinguish the crew upon the deck; but before you are near enough to hear their voices, she sinks, the waters close over her, and the wreck never can be raised. The total extinction of the Pictish language renders any further enquiry impossible. The acumen and criticism of the Nineteenth Century cannot advance beyond the homely wisdom of the Twelfth Century:—*Quamvis Picti jam videantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita destructa, ut jam fabula videatur quod in veterum scriptis eorum mentio invenitur: cui autem non comparet amor cœlestium et horror terrestrium, si cogitet non solum reges eorum, et principes, et populum deperiisse, verum etiam stirpem omnem et linguam et mentionem simul defecisse; et si de aliis mirum non esset, de lingua tamen, quam unam inter cæteras, Deus ab exordio linguarum instituit mirandum videtur.*—Such are the words of Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon—and what can be added respecting the Picts?—their place is known no more.

Total extinction of the Pictish language.

The sources of Scottish history are, however, unequally distributed, and comprehend diverse classes. Some of our witnesses speak out: others mumble. You obtain the outline from one fragment; another gives you colouring: but they are well grouped: they fit into each other. They

are so well calculated to supply their mutual deficiencies, that their critical investigation, though not devoid of the pleasures and perplexities arising from occasional obscurities, presents no substantial trouble or vexation. 1057, 1107

Continuous series of evidence of Scottish history.

You have some rugged pieces of ground to get over. The path is not always marked distinctly; perhaps you may quit the beaten track now and then, and be the better for the deviation: but you make your way fairly to the end of the journey, to Berwick upon Tweed, with King James, the Sixth of Scotland and First of England, and then to the calamities of our own times.—The process which created the Kingdom of Scotland is still in operation. That destructive process which constitutes the prominent character of Scottish History, was neither determined by the union of the Crowns of England and Scotland, nor neutralized by the union of the Kingdoms.

Works of writers contemporaneous with Malcolm and his children.

Eye-witnesses, ear-witnesses, who lived in Malcolm Canmore's Court; Bishops and Prelates enthroned and installed in the Sanctuaries where Malcolm and his descendants knelt, Writers, addressing their compositions to Malcolm's children, furnish us with the main evidences concerning the era in which the Scottish Monarchy began to acquire consistency and form; when her Sovereigns first assumed their position in the Imperial Commonwealth of Western Christendom.

1057, 1107 Chronicles.

The facts relating to the earlier periods are deduced from national Chronicles, attested, like the Scripture Histories, by the genealogies they commemorate or include: brief, uncouth, Celtic, bearing in their barbarous and quaint phraseology or archaic dialect the stamp of authenticity;—the annals of the Monasteries;—The Poems chanted by the Bard before the Scottish King.—Proceeding downwards, the writers appertaining to a more cultivated and familiar class, whose very diversities confirm their general veracity.

Charters and Records.

Where Chroniclers fail, we possess documents, in some respects more authentic than any narrative which Monk or Canon can afford—Deeds and Charters whereunto the Scottish Kings and the Scottish Nobility and Baronage have set their seals, the muniments by which they hold or grant their regalities and honours and lands.—

Traditions and usages.

Traditions, of which the general impress is so true as to compensate for the poetical form assumed by the myth, and correct the fable's imagery.—Lastly, Customs, usages, and practices, vigorous, and subsisting until our own generation, and not to be entirely obliterated until the last starving Highlander shall have found a transatlantic refuge, or a transatlantic grave.

Influence of the Norman Conquest upon Scotland.

§ 3. England became fully and finally incorporated into one realm under her new Dynasty. One King, one Kingdom, one Church, one Law.

Scotland, sometimes called the sister, but more truly the daughter kingdom, was created by and through the recoil of the Norman invasion. Anglo-Saxon England, expanding into Anglo-Norman England, preserved her identity. The Anglo-Saxon language, laws, institutions, maintain as they grow, develop, and expand, their undeviating succession; but in Scotland, the neighbouring realm's catastrophe displaced and dislocated every primitive stratum. Yet not merely by one explosion. The new formation resulted from continued and steady English influence, penetrating, dispersive, metamorphic, which, in process of time, produced its full effect, changing and altering the whole frame of society. 1057, 1107

Can any realm be found offering such paradoxes as Scotland? results apparently so contradictory to their causes: all the effects of conquest, without a Conqueror. Caledonia, unsubdued by foreign enemies, yet vanquished by foreign influence. Scotland, her speech more Anglo-Saxon than English England. Scotland, more feudal in tenure than feudal Normandy. Scotland, peopled by the most mixed multitude, yet in the hour of peril, united by the strongest national feeling. Scotland, the dependent of the Anglo-Norman Crown, and nevertheless protecting the Anglo-Saxon line, and transmitting that line to England. Scotland so generous and Phænomena of Scottish history.

1057, 1107 affectionate to all, except to Scotia's sons. Scotland, so justly proud of her aristocracy, but claiming her proudest ancestry from the stranger. Whence come Scotland's noblest names—Bruce and Balliol, Comyn and Gordon, Douglas and Campbell, Sinclair and Sutherland, Colville and Umphraville, Soulis and Somerville, Lindesay and Morville, Morley and Fraser, Beaton and Seaton, Hay and Barclay, Keith and Oliphant, Ker and Huntley, the patriot Wallace a d the royal Stuart—whose legends give poetry to Scotland's streams, and dignity to Scotland's towers, whose deeds deck her annals, whose cry resounded in the battle, whose banners led on to victory?—are we not compelled to deduce their lineages from a British, a French, a Flemish, a Norsk, a Saxon, or an English forefather? from England, or from the invaders, colonists, or occupants of England?

Foreign origin of the principal lineages of Scotland.

1320. 6 April. The declaration of Aberbrothic.

§ 4. When the Baronage and Freeholders assembled in the Abbey of Aberbrothic, asserting the rights of Scotland, which they believed to have descended through one hundred and thirteen Kings of the true and ancient line, "nullo alienigena interveniente," we fail in distinguishing more than one upon the Parliamentary Roll who could disclaim that alien blood. The Englishman was reprobated as the most implacable foe, the alien of the aliens; yet, in the Scotland of the Bruce and the Stuart, a large proportion

amongst the nobility, and the largest amongst the nation, must confess their Anglo-Saxon race. 1057, 1107

Blind Harry, like blind Homer, is an integral element in Scottish history.

> "Our Ancestors, of whom we should oft read,
> And hold in mind their noble, worthy deed,
> We let o'erslide, through very slothfulness,
> And cast us ever to other business.
> To honour enemies is set our whole intent,
> Which hath been seen into these times bywent.
> Our old enemies coming of Saxon blood,
> That never yet to Scotland would do good."

And yet none were of more truly Saxon blood than the Minstrel himself, and those whose enthusiasm he raised by his rugged rhymes. That very Abbey of Aberbrothic was founded by a Scottish King, in Becket's honour — Saint Andrew, Columba, Kentigern, Ninian, names associated with the earliest ages of the Scoto-Irish Church, hallowed by the veneration of the Scoto-Irish tribes, all neglected for Saint Thomas of Canterbury, the tutelary patron of England.

Scottish Church and State assimilated to England.

Thoroughly English, thoroughly impressed by the English stamp, do we behold the Scottish government, manners, laws. In proportion as the Scottish nation vindicated their national independence, they surrendered the distinctive tokens of nationality. Opposing England's coercive dominion, they obeyed the English mind. Church and State became assimilated to the institutions of their foes and rivals. England, their

1057, 1107

normal model of instruction, the whole kingdom assumed an English character. The earliest muniment of English common-law jurisprudence—they adopted as their own. To justify this adoption, they gladly accepted a fiction as a truth, and promulgated a mutilated and interpolated copy of the treatise compiled by the Justiciar of Henry Plantagenet, as the code prescribed by the Scottish legislator. A Scotsman ignorant of its origin, would read in Magna Charta a collection of Scottish laws. The most peculiar organization of the English Parliament, the representation of the Commons, became the object of Scottish imitation.—The English Statutes were copied as precedents. The Coronation Oath administered to the Scottish Monarch in Anglo-Norman French. The very royal Burghs of Scotland speak in their Custumals as though they were Colonies from Winchester, the ancient capital of the Anglo-Saxon Kings.

The 'Regiam Majestatem,' an interpolated and mutilated Glanville.

§ 5. The relation which the history of Scotland bears to the history of England is very imperfectly appreciated. Both parties are in fault. A mistaken nationality diverts our attention from the lessons afforded by the history of Scotland. Englishmen and Scotsmen seem to have no common ground, excepting on debateable land. We are accustomed to consider the ancient kingdoms of the Rose and the Thistle as connected only by their rivalries.

Erroneous opinions concerning the mutual relations of English and Scottish History.

We encounter each other as enemies at Bannockburn or Flodden Field, and then adjourn the battle to the Library. When political claims were grounded upon historical inductions, a good and sufficient reason subsisted for stout arguments between the litigant parties; but each generation is exonerated from the feuds of their ancestors, though liable for their transgressions. Our annals offer much reason for thankfulness, far more for sorrow, nothing for triumph. It is not worth while to plead for Edward or for the Bruce; we cannot help them: we gain nothing by asserting England's supremacy, or aspersing Scotland's Liberator. And at all events, when such questions arise, they can never be discussed profitably, except with temper and tranquillity. In our stereotyped catalogue of mediæval absurdities, the climax is found in the decision of legal questions by the Duello, or Battle-trial, a challenge to the Judge for the purpose of reversing his decree. We have been as hardly dealt with: it is next best to a challenge, if your critic tells you, that, in commenting upon an old chronicle or on a record, you have attacked a whole nation with truculent hostility. 1057, 1107

§ 6. Furthermore, the facts included in our current histories, are classed mainly according to an artificial system. Now it is universally acknowledged that artificial systems are the Prerogatives claimed for the Anglo-Saxon race.

1057, 1107

easiest, and the most intelligible to the beginner; but being essentially superficial and external, they never carry that beginner beyond the beginning of the Science. Some one said, that, to become a good Botanist upon the Linnæan system, you need only be able to count up to twenty. You learn nothing concerning the nature and quality of the objects classified. The artificial system of History consists in its chronological deduction according to the political division of States, each taken apart, by which means, whatever advantage may be gained in clearness, conciseness, and simplicity, there is an equal disadvantage resulting from an arrangement which carries matters, nearly and intimately connected, far away from each other. Therefore in the moral history of man, the natural system approaches nearest to verity—the classification according to relationships and characteristics. Historical inquiry ought to be considered as composed of interpenetrating spheres, so that there are points in each sphere belonging to many others.

Connexion between the History of Mediæval Scotland and the general history of the Anglo-Saxon Race, particularly in America.

The History of mediæval Scotland possesses a far wider application, than merely to the sphere of which mediæval England is the centre. It is really and truly the most important portion of the History of the living "Anglo-Saxon" race. Wherever dispersed, it is in Scotland that the "Anglo-Saxons," or those who call themselves

so, will find the origin of the "Anglo-Saxon" doctrine—"that a civilized people, inhabiting any "country, has a right to dispossess barbarians of "their land, if residing on it, or in their neigh- "bourhood; because such people do no good to "themselves or to others."—Such is the new Anglo-Saxon version of the Angelic Message—on earth peace, good-will towards men—all nations and people, races and tribes, who are incapable of receiving the lessons of Anglo-Saxon civilization, are to be extinguished before its march: to melt before its blaze. 1057, 1107

§ 7. There are peculiar eras when abstract speculations become embodied into realities. An hundred thousand men could not have done so much for the Whigs as John Locke. The Social Compact changed the political aspect of Europe: the Balance of Power had its day, in frustrating the ambition of Louis le Grand. Statesmen adopt doctrines as convenient symbols: and, seized at the right time, these doctrines become prerogative powers. The antagonism of races has of late years entered largely into political disquisitions. It is recognized in the Cabinet of the Tuileries, and lies upon the table of the House of Commons. Promulgated as a new truth, the doctrine is nothing more than the oldest of all historical facts; the first crime which stained the earth after the Fall, is the type of the antagonisms which have ever since subsisted amongst the children of Antagonism of races.

1057, 1107 Adam: the bitterest portion of our punishment, to continue, until the bow is broken, and the spear snapped asunder. But it is a truth which has been brought forward under a new aspect, a truth which has received perverted applications, and rendered subservient to man's bad passions, an incentive to guilt, and not guilt's terror.

There is a great peril attending the position of a Reasoner who feels that he has possessed himself with a truth, hitherto neglected or concealed. He holds a mighty power, and all power is a temptation to abuse. When once converted into a theory, the very working out of a principle, deduced from incontrovertible facts, often becomes a source of deception. The philosopher, the politician, or the historian, will drive his truth over much: he will persuade himself that it is an alcahest, by which all difficulties are to be solved. He will deceive himself by considering his theory as universal, and discern its proofs equally in the most minute or doubtful incidents, and in the greatest results; whilst the Statesman renders it the excuse for reducing the dynamics of government to the two forces of oppression, and resistance; oppression enhanced by occasionally assuming the bland aspect of civilization.

Political application of the Doctrine of the Antagonism of Races.

A great theoretical error, conducing to practical consequences, has been associated with the political doctrine of antagonism: it is the permanent inheritance of the moral and intellectual

character or endowments of races; a principle 1057, 1107
which, however correct to a considerable extent, is nevertheless frequently disturbed, by secondary causes, some apparent and potent, others which cannot be appreciated or discerned. Physical relations and circumstances exercise an unquestionable influence,—formerly perhaps too much exaggerated, now too much neglected,—social and moral energies, evidently more. Nevertheless, the anomalies are frequent and startling; and none more striking than those afforded by the Celtic tribes. In the greater part of Gaul, we find them abandoning religion, customs, laws, above all, language, by a voluntary assimilation with the conquerors; yet, in the Armoricon Provinces, and in the British islands, adhering with unshaken heroic fortitude to the traditions of their forefathers. Sometimes peculiar traits of character will withstand foreign commixture, and continue unaltered amidst all the mutations of religion and government: the Lutetians of Julian are the Parisians of the present day.

Old writers attribute these unaccountabilities to planetary or astral influence. In other words, they could give no reason, nor can we. We may fill volumes with disquisitions, and consume our lives philosophizing; but in everything relating to human society or human destiny, there will always be abnormal deviations from ascertained laws, inexplicable by human science, a

1057, 1107 residual phenomenon, which our calculations cannot reach, the workings of a special Providence. With respect to the term "Anglo-Saxon," in its modern political application, it is ethnographically incorrect, though morally true; and this leads us to fix our attention upon the fact, that the insatiable aggressive spirit of "Anglo-Saxonism" first became distinctly disclosed amongst the Anglo-Norman settlers, in the territories composing the Kingdom of Scotland.

In the course of these enquiries, we shall therefore consider all who acted under the devouring tendencies which the Anglo-Norman dynasty elicited, as designated by that same term of "Anglo-Saxon." All differences and distinctions of race merge in that general character, best exemplified by the People and States who glory loudest in claiming it—the Anglo-Saxon republics of the New World.

§ 8. Such are the mutations and developements constituting the internal life of Scotland, and rendering her history so important; not merely relating to one small kingdom, but forming a chapter in the annals of mankind. In order, however, to attain a full perception of the process by which they were effected, it is needful, at the very onset of our enquiries, to dispel the delusion cast by the modern denomination of Scotland upon the modern mind; so inveterate, that scarcely can even the most cautious, accu-

Popular errors occasioned by the modern application of the term Scotland.

rate, or the best informed student protect himself against the error. The most accessible and popular sources perpetuate the misapprehension, concealing the œcumenical interest belonging to Scotland's vicissitudes and fortunes. 1057, 1107

Begin with the *Tales of a Grandfather*. The volume opens in its first chapter by describing the Scotland of Macbeth and Banquo as a solid country, separated from England by Solway and Tweed; a definition which, so long as it retains any hold upon the memory, will ever denaturalize the incidents related with such exquisite skill.

In the work intended to instruct the reader of more advanced age, the truth is obscured amidst details of Picts and Caledonians.

Lastly, the classical history of Scotland, which supersedes every previous investigation, omits the geography of the ancient realm altogether.

Recapitulation of the territories and dominions comprising the Scoto-Pictish Monarchy.

We must, therefore, reiterate the substance of a former lesson. Take the map before you; perambulate the regions included in Modern Scotland, following the rivers, ascending the mountains, descending into the marches and plains, and again consider the chorography of the realm.—Sutherland and Caithness in the North, are Norwegian. Malcolm's dominions are composed of the following territories;—English Lothian, from the Island-Shire of St. Cuthbert

1057, 1107 to the water of Forth, divided from the southern parts of Strath Clyde by hill and fell, and by the waste, which, commencing on the border of Hexham-Shire, had either remained uncultivated, or relapsed into primeval solitude.—Strath Clyde and Galloway, from the Lorne to and beyond the valley of Clyde, until the Mounth, the Hills of ancient Drumalbane;—Argyle, from the same mountains, but winding round to Inverness.—Moray, Highland and Lowland, bounded by the water of Spey;—and the residue, the tract between Forth and Spey, being the territory to which the name of Scotia, originally belonging to Ireland, can alone be assigned.—Ireland was the original Scotland.

The three languages of the Scoto-Pictish realms. English, British, and Gaelic or Irish.

Nor is it less important that we should advert to the languages spoken by the families amongst whom these lands of the Gentile isles were divided:—the Lothians, where the English had obliterated the dialects of the preceding occupants;—Strath Clyde, retaining the ancient British tongue;—Lastly, the Irish, or Erse, now somewhat affectedly called Gaelic, a term of recent adoption, in all the other portions of the kingdom, to which the comprehensive term of Albanach was applied. *Albanach!* was the slogan when the Irish Gael rushed against the *Sassenach* foe.

And henceforward the social history of the Scottish Kingdom exhibits the gradual extension of the name of Scotland, to the whole of

the dominions previously ruled by the Scoto-Pictish monarchs: and their slow and imperfect consolidation into one realm, producing successively the subjugation, the expulsion, and the approaching extinction, of the Irish Gael. 1057, 1107

§ 9. Foreign conquest is a great evil; but the calamity is inferior to the miseries resulting from a domestic conquest, a domestic tyranny. Far more susceptible of alleviation is the real stranger's harshness, than the incurable antipathy of a legitimate Sovereign, forced and fixed upon his subjects by foreign bayonets or foreign spears. In the first case it may be the interest, nay, the inclination of the Ruler to conciliate those over whom he possesses not any right, except the right of the strongest; whereas in the latter, the Sovereign is kept at variance with his own. You are always far more merciful towards an acknowledged enemy, than towards those whom you brand as rebels. Malcolm Canmore begins his reign inauspiciously.

The strongest chemical combination results from the union of elements, when they form the compound in their nascent state. Traditions of government are more stringent than laws. The hatred smoulders intensely though the flames blaze less fiercely; and the inward grudge rankles after the enactment is repealed. The "Penal Laws" are no longer upon the Statute Book, but the dominant caste execute them in spirit, nor

1057, 1107 can they be erased from that Book which will be opened at the Last Day.

Scotland arose in enmity. Upon the first foundation of the Kingdom, the Sovereign became, by reason of his dignity, not the protector, but the concealed or open foe of the Crown's primitive subjects. This was the unhappy condition in which Malcolm Canmore was placed from the beginning of his reign. Shakspeare, so long as the world lasts, will prevent our sympathizing with Macbeth; but we should recollect that Macbeth had at least as good a legal title to the throne as gracious Duncan, the son of the Abbot of Dunkeld. Had he succeeded, Macbeth, generous and free-spirited, would have been the King of the Gael.

King Malcolm Canmore derived his ancestry from the most unmixed of the Celts, the Dalriadic stem; but the babe Malcolm had nestled in the warm nursing bosom of an English mother: English was the first language which sounded in Malcolm's ear. Whether considered as an historical fact or a moral lesson, the mother's influence upon the character of a child, so clearly indicated in the history of the Kings of Judah and Israel, is equally exemplified in Scotland. No descendant of Malcolm ever courted a daughter of the North. In each succeeding generation, each Scottish Prince, each Scottish King, sought

The consorts of Malcolm and his descendants all of Anglo-Norman kindred.

a consort in the lineages and kindred of England's rulers; and the effect of each mother's foreign nationality, renewed and continued through all the successors of Malcolm Canmore who possessed the royal authority, is one of the most important circumstances in Anglo-Scottish history. 1057, 1107

Malcolm's birth may in one sense be said to have rendered him almost an Englishman. His education confirmed his English character. Deprived of his father's protection in early youth, the boy found another parent in his mother's kinsman, Northumbrian Siward. During fifteen years Malcolm grew up into manhood under the Confessor's benign protection, his benefactor and his Suzerain, standing before the Confessor's throne, consorting with the Confessor's Clerks, riding with the Confessor's Knights, sitting at the Confessor's table. Here he imbibed the cultivation of the English Court, and, like other Englishmen, adopted the Romance of Normandy, the fashionable dialect. Grammar-Latin he does not seem to have acquired; but the English and the French, for so we must call it by anticipation, he spoke as fluently as the Erse or Gaelic, and was, therefore, to that extent denationalized. Words are men's masters. Malcolm was wise, merciful, and brave, but in truth a foreigner, brought in by foreign power. The *Duan Albanach* greeted him as "Maolcoluim Mac Donnchaidh," but at that very moment, the Irish

Malcolm's English education.

1057, 1107 Gael shunned their Sovereign as a Sassenach King.

Modern Kingdom of Scotland created by the predominance of Lothian over the Gaelic territory.

§ 10. Analyzed, all human government gravitates into practical despotism. We do not employ the term odiously, because the odiousness is incidental, and results from abuse; but simply descriptively, for the purpose of expressing the truth, that all authority terminates in placing one portion of the Community beneath the absolute disposal of another or others, one or many. Not but that there may be efficient means of mitigating the exercise of this supreme Autocracy,—*la Russie est une monarchie absolue, temperée par les assassinats*;—but the Autocrat is absolute notwithstanding. Vary the form of Government as much as you choose: veil its character as much as you can: take as many as you please into partnership, still the fact remains unaltered. In the most complete, universal-suffrage democracy, the majority, be it only of one, is constitutionally the master of the minority's lives and fortunes. Which individual of the aggregate it is, you cannot tell, but there is the one amongst them who has annihilated the minority, the last feather breaking the horse's back, the grain of dust turning the scale.

A more common despotism is exercised by race over race: none so galling.—Or by class over class; the "Monarchy of the middle classes," is a truth not destroyed by the inaccuracy of the

expression.—Lastly, by a Metropolis, or one territorial portion or member ruling over the rest. It rarely happens that these Autocracies subsist simply. They are usually combined, occasioning much perplexity in government. In the British Empire, which includes them all, England is the Metropolis. After the union of the Crowns, England was the Metropolis of Scotland. 1057, 1107

Lothian, a dismemberment of England, operated upon Scotia nearly in the same manner as England subsequently affected Scotland: the more powerful, more vigorous portion bound to the weak, and drawing away the elements of influence and power: the new piece sewn to the old garment, making the rent worse; tearing away the King from his people, the father from his children. And this metropolitan supremacy acted concurrently with the prepotence of immigrating races: the counterpart of Anglo-Saxon ascendancy in Ireland.

Reasons inducing Malcolm to establish his residence at Dumferline.

Truest Scots by lineage, truest Scots in feeling, Malcolm's Irish predecessors cherished their own people, their own land. Lothian was more opulent and tempting than the Straths and wilds of Albanach; the Maiden's Castle, Dunedin, the rock rising amidst forest and morass, a strong and defensible fortress. But they loved the soil where their forefathers settled: there they had a greater strength, loftier rocks, thicker forests, deeper waters, a speech which cheered them, a

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kindred to whom they clung. Not so, anglicized Malcolm, husband of the English Atheliza, fair and holy Margaret. All in Scotia was strange, almost unpleasing to him: his tastes, manners, intellect, were adverse. The Scots he could not leave unwatched; therefore, without entirely quitting their borders, he descended to the very margin of the Forth, the Scottish water. Hence, the Peel of Dumferline became the Royal Tower: here he was placed close to the English of Lothian, whom he affected, the Northumbrians, who recollected in him not the son of the Scottish Duncan, but the kinsman of their ancient Earls; here also he was separated from the aggrieved Celts, murmuring their displeasure.

Donaldbane, Malcolm's brother, continues in the Western Islands.

A very forcible expression of feeling is discovered in the conduct of Donaldbane. Malcolm's brother kept aloof from that brother's dominions, even as he had done when the dreaded Macbeth had filled the throne. He continued to live untroubled under Norwegian supremacy in the Western isles, saved from the spectacle, to him so odious, of his brother's alienation from their blood and race. It is also singularly characteristic of Malcolm's reign, that the native Chieftains of the Irish Gael, the Maormors, are entirely obscured, until they re-appear as the enemies of his son.

The spirit of the government under Malcolm and Mar-

§ 11. There was indeed great reason for discomfort and anxiety. Domestic happiness caused national tribulation, national sorrow. As Malcolm

grew older, his affection for Margaret increased; and in proportion to the increase of that affection, did they estrange themselves more and more from their subjects. Malcolm's Court became an Anglo-Saxon colony, hostile to the feelings, the opinions, the laws, the faith, the property, the national existence of the Gael. Malcolm was generous and mild; Margaret kind, sincere, affectionate, pious, truly seeking to perform her duty, and to assist in promoting the welfare of the people over whom she ruled; and yet those endeavours have produced encreasing misery: generation after generation steeped in anguish, the most powerful impulse given to those oppressions which seem to place us in the regions of eternal woe.

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Margaret, inimical to the Gaelic race.

"Quivi sospiri, pianti, ed alti guai
Risonavan per l'aer senza stelle,
Perch'io al comminciar' ne lagrimai.
Diverse lingue, orribili favelle
Parole di dolore, accenti d'ira,
Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle."

§ 12. The successes of the wicked form, comparatively, a small trial to Faith. We are taught to expect their prosperity; but it is otherwise with the constant frustration of the holiest travails and aspirations of the good. From the zealous humanity of Las Casas arose the incalculable sufferings sustained by the African race; and the endeavours made to abolish Transatlantic slavery, have renewed and multiplied its hor-

Providential frustration of the labours of the good.

1057, 1107 rors. Some compensation has been vouchsafed. In the Empires of Montezuma and Atahualpa, the Aztec and the Quichua have been preserved through the efforts of the Andalusian Priest, to witness, perhaps rejoice over, the humiliation and calamity of their conquerors. The British Negro may bless the memory of Wilberforce for the comfort and liberty he enjoys. Nevertheless, so great in these and all similar instances have been the mischiefs resulting from the best intentions, when applied to the policy of this visible world, that it seems almost as if it were our vocation to sit still, waiting the developement of the Divine decrees, in the quiet and confident belief, that His faithfulness will be established and His judgments executed, without any human exertion.

Or, if this should be thought a dereliction of our duty, and a neglect of those talents which have been bestowed upon us, it may at least teach us to be content if the result of any human effort has not been harm. The more comprehensive any scheme to be carried out by human agency, the greater the chance of detriment from our utter inability of contemplating human affairs as a unity, or calculating the adverse or pestiferous elements which the process of human intervention may disengage. The ordinary course of human affairs would alone suggest that solution. But could we view our actions as Angels view

them, would it not be found that the denial of a blessing to the warfare of the righteous, has oft been the reproof needful for the correction of that infirmity which makes us lean upon the broken reed, seeking help from the enemies of Him, in whose cause we attempt to labour? The very follies, errors, and weaknesses of those who are most truly His servants, are amongst the means which He has chosen, to teach that no flesh shall glory in His presence. 1057, 1107

§ 13. Margaret's influence was founded upon love and piety. Her Husband's counsellor, minister, friend: all that Margaret disliked, Malcolm disliked; and all that Margaret loved, he loved. He would often snatch the Gospel-Book from his wife's dear hand, and kiss it out of love for her. Margaret's life exhibited a consistent unvaried course of duty—methodical, systematic, never desisting from exertion and self-sacrifice. Early in the morning nine orphan infants were brought to the Queen: their food was prepared under her special care, and the attending to these little ones afforded the chief recreation of her toilsome day. Three hundred poor, collected from the adjoining districts, were introduced into the Banquet-hall, the meat and drink devoutly carried round to each by Malcolm and by Margaret. The household priesthood, the only attendants present; for the doors were closed, not churlishly, but lest the multitude might admire and praise the royal charity. Margaret's piety and charity.

1057, 1107 Twenty-four alms-folk received their entire support from Margaret's bounty, and followed the Court whilst journeying through the realm. When not employed in the cares of government, the conduct of her household, and the education of her children, her time was given to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Margaret read the Latin language as easily as her mother-tongue. She delighted particularly in the Psalter, considered by the mediæval Church as an epitome of the Old Testament and the New, reading fifty Psalms each day. Her abundant and abounding charity rendered her poorer than the poor. Privations, penances, hardships, the want of needful food, and still more of needful rest, enfeebled her constitution. Prayer marked each vigil of the night, and interrupted her scanty slumbers.

Margaret's love of splendour, her encouragement of luxury and commerce.

§ 14. But although Margaret truly lived as one always preparing to quit the world, her station drew her downwards. Hard conflicts had Margaret to sustain between her natural tastes, and the grace by which they were partially subdued. Daughter of a German mother, her earliest infancy accustomed to the splendour of an Imperial Court, and afterwards familiarized with the opulence and luxury of England, Margaret could not help prizing the world's dignified elegance. In fleeing from England, the Atheliza and her guardians had brought with them many of the treasures of art which adorned

the Palace of Westminster. The goldsmith's work of Germany, the *Opus Teutonicum* so esteemed, and the skilful embroideries of England, were still the delights of her eye, if not of her heart. Mary's disgust at the barbarity of Edinburgh, the blooming widow weeping for the courtly splendour of France, must have been anticipated by Margaret's feelings when she landed on the Scottish shore. 1057, 1107

Few of those opinions, institutions, inventions, and delicacies, constituting the connecting links between Civility and Civilization had been communicated to the Scottish realms. The Irish Gael were still subsisting in a primitive and simple state of society, not widely differing from the Homeric age, excepting as affected by climate, local peculiarities, and Christianity. The use of money was scarcely known. Pecuniary transactions were really reckoned by heads of cattle. No one city or town, in the modern sense, was there in Malcolm's dominions: no arts, no artizans, no machinery, except the plough and the harrow, the file and the forge, the quern and the distaff. Homeric simplicity of the Irish Gael.

Margaret sought to enrich the country, and to allure her subjects to those refinements resulting from Roman civilization, which had been preserved amongst the other nations dwelling within the boundaries of the Empire. Commerce, to some extent, had been carried on by

1057, 1107 the Northmen, who conjoined the spirit of mercantile genius with the spirit of war. This germ of national wealth was fostered by Margaret's industrial patronage. Foreign dealers resorted to the Scottish ports; and the material products of the country, bartered and exchanged, enabled Margaret to imitate the style of Southern realms. Rich stuffs and garments, brilliant, varied, and gay, were brought over in plenty, and the Queen, adopting these fashions for herself, her family, and household, induced or compelled—for the wishes of a Sovereign are compulsion—her subjects to assume this foreign attire.

Splendour of the Scottish Court.

She trained up a School of embroiderers amongst the damsels of her Court, who worked under her direction, and in her presence, subjected to her strict, yet cheerful discipline. The purest silk they wrought with threads of gold, intermixed with the pearls and gems, for such they were reckoned, furnished by Scottish streams and Scottish hills. Stoles and chasubles, altar-cloths and copes, shrines and ornaments for the House of God, constituted a main object of these labours; and the "Black Rood," the most venerated relic which Scotland owned, that Holy Rood which imparted its name to the fated Palace, was decked with peculiar care. Nevertheless, the World had an ample share of Margaret's favour. She appointed that Malcolm should ride about in great state and pomp; no

Ornamental arts encouraged by Margaret.

Scottish King had known the like before. Dumferline was as nobly and gaily decked, as the means of Scotia could furnish. Gold and silver vessels and dishes shone on the royal table; and Queen Margaret justified all this to herself, by arguing that it was not done out of ostentation, but as part of her duty to keep up the needful state and dignity of royalty. 1057, 1107

These innovations affronted, nay, terrified the Irish Gael; their own pride, no less than their own instinctive acuteness, told them how much the strength of a nation depends upon small things. It is impossible to confute the arguments advocating the advantages arising from the introduction of new modes of thought, new customs, and new usages—improvement, progress, civilization—but there is a moral sense, testifying against such innovations, which annihilates argument. If nationality be valued, as a treasure above all earthly treasure, be certain, fully certain, you must accept the hard dogma that there are no means of protecting the national stamina, except by interposing the usages of our forefathers as an irremoveable obstacle to all mutation. But developement is not mutation: the expansion resulting from an internal plastic energy does not introduce anything new, it is the most powerful defence against innovation. Discontent excited by Margaret's innovations amongst the Gael.

Next to the highest of all principles, the holiest are those reverential doctrines, whereby

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the living are placed beneath the authority of the departed, tutelary protectors, honoured though not idolized, beyond temptation, beyond mutability. For the life of nations is not as the life of an individual. The body can only live by food, by assimilation of new matter, by change; and corporeal change is a constant advance towards death. Whereas the real life of nations is spiritual, self-existent, self-sustained. The very progress of a nation ultimately kills its primitive life and identity.

The luxuries introduced by Margaret were as much against the taste of the Gael, as they were conformable to hers; nor could her inconsistency in this respect, do otherwise than enfeeble the influence of her piety. Had any pallid Culdee, opening the Holy Scriptures, enquired of Margaret how far her encouragement of artificial wants was consistent with the precept which tells us to be content with food and raiment, what answer would the Queen have returned?

Margaret's severance from the Scottish Church.

§ 15. Margaret, an alien amongst the people who had adopted her, repelled even more by manners, customs, mind, than by blood, was equally severed from the Scottish Church. She found no comfort in it. The Ministers, the services were uncongenial to her, and the real diversities and causes of disunion were exaggerated by temper and feeling. So inveterate has been the antipathy nourished by the "Anglo-

Anglo-Saxon antipathy.

Saxon" against the Celt, that Catholicity, elsewhere so influential in beating down the wall of separation between people and people, failed to produce a kindly bond.—Protestantism enhanced the contemptuous aversion.—Civilization imparts her cool, reasoning, calculating mercilessness, the last and most fell exacerbation. 1057, 1107

A similar repulsion existed between the Teuton and the Sclavonian. An interesting but an afflicting parallel (for we are the worse) might be drawn between the conduct pursued by the Teutons towards the Slavo-Vendic tribes, and the austere contempt which, even in the most mitigated instances, the Celts of the British islands have experienced from the Anglo-Saxon. The subject would also require to be treated as a special section of Ecclesiastical History. Had all the members of the Catholic body received a proportionate developement, the Celtic and Slavonian Churches would have constituted two of the great Nations of Christendom. We are fain to adopt the constitutional phraseology employed by the Council of Constance. For it was a great thought, and a wise, in that supreme Federal Assembly of the Christian commonwealth, to enjoin the mode of voting by Nations, which preserved both ethnic individuality and Catholic union. The Celt, however, would have stood furthest away from the general ethos of the West. Amongst all the

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sons of Japhet, none so far apart from his immediate brethren: in no wise inferior, but possessing a diverse idiosyncracy.

Marked peculiarities of the Catholic Church.

§ 16. Works of art are adequate tokens of the minds which produced them. You cannot look at the Cross of Aberlemno, sculptured upon the Druidical Stone, the Heathen monument converted, in the literal sense, to Christianity, the "Clachan," with its strangely contorted knots, protuberant bosses, uncouth ornamentation, hieroglyphical angels, without being convinced that the Priest who preached at its foot, was, however united in doctrine with the rest of Latin Christendom, entirely disassociated from the Western Church by habits, usages, and feelings;—the Eastern Churches holding communion with the Church of Rome, the Maronites and Armenians, are nearly in the same predicament. But in the same way, let it be spoken with reverence, that the natural character of the Apostles affected their ministrations, so did the same indelible affections act upon their successors; and the religion inculcated by Patrick, Ninian, Aidan, and Columba, received some differences in outward tinge and colouring from the teaching of Paulinus and Augustine.

Supremacy of the Scottish Churches claimed by

Canterbury and York, the rival Primates, claimed, contested, and ultimately lost, the ecclesiastical supremacy of the dominions ruled

by the Scottish Kings. Lindisfairne, now represented by Durham, possessed an unquestionable jurisdiction as far as the Firth of Forth. Melrose and Jedburgh were within its boundaries; St. Cuthbert himself was born on fair Tweed side. Moreover there existed a spiritual consanguinity between the ancient inhabitants of Albanach and this See. Aidan was the first Missionary in Northumbria. King Oswald had earnestly solicited the aid of the Scoto-Pictish Church for the diffusion of Christianity amongst his own people. This created a common feeling between the Scoto-Pictish Kings and the Bishops of Lindisfairne. The voluntary submission of the old Pictish King Nechtan to the Abbot of Jarrow, leads to the supposition that the authority of the Chair was not confined to the afore-mentioned geographical boundary. Lindisfairne, however, and the Northumbrian Church, continued purely English: whatever peculiarities of discipline or liturgy may have been imparted by Aidan and the Irish Missionaries, were entirely obliterated.

1057, 1107 Canterbury as well as by York.

Peculiar connexion with Lindisfairne or Durham.

There is one circumstance attending the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, which, duly appreciated, enables us to abide by some of its apparent contradictions. They probably arose from the conflict between the Episcopacy of races—Ethno-episcopacy, by which the Bishop has jurisdiction over the flock, wherever it may be located,—and Episcopacy regulated by territorial

Scottish Episcopacy unsettled, the territorial organization being incomplete.

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boundaries, Enchorial-episcopacy, which bestows Jurisdiction because of the pasture. Imagine an Ulphilas, bivouacking with his Mæso-Goths in Pannonia; how often would he not collide against the Bishop of Sirmium?—The Celtic hierarchy avoided the English prelates. It is possible that some few Sees had a permanent establishment—Kilrule, now St. Andrew's, may be particularized, as well as Whitehern, or Candida Casa in Galloway:—yet, in other parts, we doubt if there was any definite repartition into Dioceses. The Episcopal Staff was very weak; we can scarcely make out that there were three Bishops altogether in Scotland during Malcolm Canmore's reign.

Parishes did not exist in Scotia proper; and the Crosses, the most remarkable of the country's neglected memorials, are the Stations round which the Missionaries assembled their hearers, and administered the Sacraments under a booth or hut, with thatched roof and wattled walls, to which the name of Clachan, now applied in Gaelic to all places of worship, was transferred.

State, condition, and discipline of the Celtic Church.

§ 17. The doctrine of the Scottish Clergy was sound, but their discipline departed from the general type of the Western Church. Marriage was tolerated amongst the Celtic Clergy; this usage, we have full reason to suppose, led to the formation of an hereditary Priesthood. Amongst the Celtic Clergy, like the Greek Papas, the attribution of sacerdotal functions to a caste, seems

to have rendered them lax and negligent. There was neither need nor stimulus for exertion. Elsewhere, Grammar-Latin lived amongst the hierarchy in their daily intercourse; but in the Scoto-Pictish territories, the Clergy, ill-instructed in the language constituting the common bond of Western Europe, were unable to converse in it. They could speak no other tongue than Gaelic, and were no less deficient in letters than the English Clergy when Alfred began his great reform. They had degenerated from the bright and noble example of their mother-country Erin. 1057, 1107

Concerning the organization of the Scoto-Pictish Church our information is most scanty. No memorials or canons of any ecclesiastical Councils, Synods, or Assemblies, are extant. The Culdee Monasteries were numerous and venerated, and, without much positive proof, we are inclined to invest them with the stern ascetic character which distinguished the Monks of the Thebaid. Nevertheless some of the Convents or Houses seem to have been treated as secular endowments. Antiquarians have maintained that the Abthanes were lay Abbots. A son of Malcolm's, like Malcolm's grandfather, was Abbot of Dunkeld, and also Earl of Fife; so that Charles Martel's precedents found favour in Britain. Controversialists have endeavoured to earn for the mysterious Culdee communities the credit of identity with the modern Presbyterians, or to The Culdees.

1057, 1107 repel that identity as a calumny. The existence of such a controversy sufficiently proves the paucity of authentic documents relating to this priesthood, and the obscurity in which they are involved.

Peculiar usages of the Scottish Clergy.

Many strange customs received the sanction of the Scoto-Pictish Clergy. Generally speaking, they continued very uncombinable with the other members of the Catholic hierarchy, according to the prevailing system of the West. Festivals and services did not correspond: the soothing charm of Catholicity was partially impaired: they celebrated their mass with "barbaric rites," contrary to the general practice of the Western Church. We interpret this censure as indicating the liturgical employment of the Erse or vernacular tongue. The Paschal computation had ceased to be the subject of dispute; nevertheless, Lent was shortened, and not observed canonically. Even on Easter-day the Holy Communion was neglected by the Clergy, and at all times and seasons by the laity. Religious discipline had become exceedingly slack, nor, as we are told, was moral restraint enforced. The reverence due to the Lord's day was forgotten: every servile work being performed thereon without distinction, and they seemed to delight in violating the Commandment. Illicit and incestuous marriages were common; and the foregoing neglects and delinquencies are quoted, not

Neglect of Catholic ceremonial amongst the Scottish Clergy.

as a complete enumeration of the depravities of the Gael, but as a specimen, elucidating their conduct and conversation. 1057, 1107

Nevertheless, the accusations proceed from an Anglo-Saxon Monk, certainly not inclined to extenuate the errors of those whom he hardly owned to be his brethren: the scarcity of Clergy in a dispersed population may also account for many licenses. However, making every deduction for exaggeration, we cannot doubt that irregularities and immoralities subsisted. The proper and canonical remedy was obvious: a Council convened under the Metropolitan, or the direction of the Apostolic See. But the Scottish hierarchy practically ignored the authority of either Anglo-Saxon Prelate. They were neglected or forgotten by the Popes, and their Church had failed to exert the power of corporate or collective legislation. Corrections were therefore inevitable. No Church without a Bishop, is the unquestionable, unshaken maxim, the irrefragable, constitutional doctrine of primitive Catholicity. But Episcopacy is nullified when administered contrary to the maxims and doctrines of Catholicity. And the Episcopal Church which does not assemble pursuant to its charter, labours under the imperfections of Presbyterian Church government, without attaining Presbyterian vigour.

§ 18. Vexed and grieved in spirit, Margaret's zeal prompted her to irregular courses, calcu- Margaret attempts the Re-

1057, 1107 formation of the Scottish Church in an irregular Ecclesiastical assembly.

lated to weaken the Church, whose errors she laboured to remove. Unmindful of a clear and positive precept, she undertook a mission from which woman is excluded, and sought to become the instrument of reforming the Scottish Church. A meeting of the Clergy was convened, contrary to all the rules and principles of ecclesiastical authority. It is doubtful whether any Bishops attended; indeed, as before-mentioned, there were very few within the Scottish territories; but it is certain that there was no proper President, either by virtue of his office, or by Papal delegation.

Margaret stood forth as Opponent, Malcolm by her side; the Scottish Clergy, as Respondents. She exhorted, reasoned, disputed with the Clergy; they could neither understand her Latin nor her English, therefore Malcolm became his wife's interpreter. Notwithstanding this impediment to free converse, the debate was continued for three days with great vigour and animation. The Clergy might, nay, ought to have warned the Queen that her duty was to keep silence.

Priests and Culdees argued stoutly: but Margaret was familiarly acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, Patristic theology, and the Canons of the Church. After much discussion, the Clergy in this assembly, more than anomalous, singular in the strictest sense of the term—for we have no other example in Catholicity of a female

presuming to take this forbidden office—agreed (as it is said) to obey the general usages of the West. Some reformation of manners seems to have been effected, though probably more by the excellent example of the royal family than by any exertion of authority. 1057, 1107

If there had previously existed a dispathy between Margaret and the National Church, these discussions put them further asunder; Malcolm and Margaret virtually separated themselves from the Scottish Hierarchy. They never afterwards consulted with the Scottish Prelacy or Priesthood. One son, as before-mentioned, was Abbot of Dunkeld, but he was also Earl of Fife; it is therefore probable that, like his great-grandfather, he held the preferment only as a secular dignity. The restoration of the decayed buildings at Iona,—a cross or shrine bestowed upon Kilrule,—a small donation, the lands of Balchristy, made to the Culdees of Loch Leven, whose vicinity to Dumferline may have suggested the bounty, appear,—unless we add a very doubtful grant to Murthelach or Aberdeen,—the only recorded tokens of Malcolm's and Margaret's affection towards the ancient Church of Malcolm's forefathers. This neglect of the Scottish Church is a conclusive proof of an alienated spirit: hardly a lamp fed by the piety of King Malcolm and Queen Margaret: hardly a Priest who could commemorate Mal-

Malcolm and Margaret withhold their bounty from the Scottish Church.

1057, 1107

colm and Margaret amongst the Benefactors of the Altar, or include them in the bidding prayer.

Measures adopted by Malcolm and Margaret for the purpose of Anglicising the Scottish Churches.

§ 19. Henceforward, Malcolm and Margaret connected themselves as closely as possible with the English Church. When the Royal Family first passed over to Scotland, it does not appear that they were accompanied by any English Churchmen, or at least none remained. Bishop Aylwin only continued there for a short season: and, during the discussions with the Scottish Clergy, we cannot collect that the Queen was assisted by any priesthood of her own. Margaret therefore addressed Archbishop Lanfranc, requesting him to become her Christian Father. By this act, Margaret, so far as her authority extended,—and the wife without doubt spoke on behalf of her husband,—acknowledged the Primacy of Canterbury. In conformity with this solicitation, Lanfranc despatched to her three of his brethren, the senior being the English Goldwine, or Godwin, as the foundation of a renovated establishment. His very remarkable letter, only recently disentombed from a public Library, is the earliest document existing concerning the incipient Kingdom of Scotland. We have an obscure suspicion, that the unfortunate Columban (noticed in our account of Lanfranc's transactions at Canterbury,) opposed the mission.

English Clergy sent to Scotland by Lanfranc.

Introduction of English Clergy.

A further reinforcement followed from Durham, the mother-church of the Lothians: Turgot

the Prior—an old dispute with hasty Malcolm forgotten—became Margaret's domestic Chaplain; and, if we may use the modern expression, her spiritual director. The good man admired his royal patrons, the Queen especially, entered into their confidence, tells us fully of their thoughts, habits and customs, and can see nothing wrong in those whom he revered and loved. Appointed in a subsequent reign to the See of Kilrule, which by that time had fully acquired its modern denomination of St. Andrew's, Turgot preserves to us, in the biography of his Royal Mistress and the Chronicles of his Northumbrian Cathedral, the memorials so singularly illustrating this remote and important era.

1057, 1107 Turgot, Prior of Durham, Margaret's Chaplain, and her biographer.

The Culdees constituted the most national portion of the Scoto-Irish Church. They were the keepers of the Scoto-Irish ecclesiastical traditions, and their corporate communities maintained the ancient doctrines, customs, and usages. Therefore in opposition to these defenders of Celtic nationality, Malcolm and Margaret founded the Abbey of Dumferline, close to Dumferline palace and tower, into which they introduced the venerable and ruling Order of the Latin Church, the Benedictines. Such was the commencement of the new ecclesiastical settlement, which, proceeding steadily, supplanted the ancient Hierarchy. Margaret and Malcolm did not live to complete the organization of Dumferline

1057, 1107 Abbey, but the seed was sown. Monastic Colonies, some from France, but more from England, spread themselves over the land. "Sarum Use" supplanted the Scoto-Irish Liturgies. The Episcopal Sees became located, and Dioceses assigned according to the prevailing system. Canonically speaking, the succession of the Scottish Prelacy was unbroken, but not so in a national sense. The mere Irish Gael were excluded from ecclesiastical privileges and honours. They were under a perpetual disqualification, because they were Irish. After the reign of Malcolm Canmore, we can scarcely ever discover a Gaelic name in the Kingdom's hierarchy.

Monastic orders introduced in opposition to the Culdees.

§ 20. All these anti-national influences were both the cause and the effect of the Anglo-Saxon colonization, which had been steadily advancing since Malcolm's restoration to the Scottish Monarchy, commencing the displacement and extermination of those whom we may call the aborigines. The troops furnished by the Confessor, and whose strength placed Malcolm on the throne, began the blighting Colony. Nevertheless, let it be constantly recollected, that we must use the term of "Anglo-Saxon" with some degree of inaccuracy. Like the co-relative denomination, "Norman," it fluctuates between the nomenclature of race and policy. Considering how many of the French tongue were employed and protected by the Confessor, there can be little doubt but

Commencement of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Colonization amongst the Scots.

that the Frenchmen composed a portion of Earl Siward's army, or followed in the wake. 1057, 1107

Then came the royal fugitives, the Atheling and the Atheliza, and Agatha and Christina, with their companions. To these were added the English Thanes, who, fleeing from the Norman yoke, found an asylum in the Scottish territory. Renowned Gospatric, with his sons Gospatric, Dolphin, and Waltheof, who were established chiefly in the Merse and the Lothians; Archill, the great Northumbrian Thane, to whom Malcolm granted large territories in Dumbarton, compensating the spoliations he had sustained from the Conqueror; Merlesweyn, Siward-Barn, Alfwin, all of whom can be discerned as landed men under Malcolm, and whose descendants subsequently appear high on the roll of Scotland's territorial aristocracy. Tradition also designates the families of Lindesay, Vaux, Ramsey, Lovel, Towers, Preston, Sandiland, Wisheart, Soulis, Wardlaw, Maxwell, Crichton, Giffard, Maule, and Borthwick, as established in the Scottish dominions during Malcolm's reign.

Anglo-Saxon fugitives settled and protected by Malcolm.

Foreign families supposed to have settled in Scotland under Malcolm Canmore.

Lords required vassals; chieftains, a tenantry: equal encouragement was given to the immigration of the English villainage. Every insurrection in Northumbria which unsettled the inhabitants, drove them within Malcolm's border: the desolations of Yorkshire impelled the swarms of cultivators, who escaped William's conquering

English Villainage brought in as Colonists.

1057, 1107 sword. Malcolm proceeded upon a settled principle of policy. The forcible abduction of the English whom he carried away as prisoners during his incursions, so that the Scottish villages were filled with them, was only a rude process of colonization: one of the measures he employed for raising up a new race to supplant his Irish Gael. At a subsequent period the Scottish territories also became the spoil of Norman or Anglo-Norman adventurers; who, seizing their domains by right of conquest, compromised their usurpations by owning the Scottish Monarch as their Sovereign.

The Legal myth of Malcolm's distribution of the lands of Scotland.

§ 21. The Constitutional transactions of the reign are embodied in that ancient myth which approaches to legal verity. Our Malcolm, Malcolm Canmore, is the Malcolm whose personality conjoins with ideality, who distributes all the lands of Scotland to his men, and retains nought to himself in property, save the royal dignity and the Moot-hill of Scone,—that same Moot-hill, in itself such a type of the progress of our age, having been levelled by modern cultivation—the great pyramid of Scotland, destroyed by the landscape gardener, to adorn the view from the drawing-room window.

The Moot hill of Scone.

And there the Barons granted the wardship and the relief of the heir of each Baron, for the maintenance of the royal dignity. Furthermore, according to the usages of other nations, Mal-

colm ordained, that henceforward men should take their surnames from their lands; a new custom, never before known amongst the Scots. The custom could not indeed be known amongst the Scots, for it was the blood which gave identity to the man, not the soil upon which he trod. Moreover, strange and proud dignities did Malcolm create: Earls and Barons, and Knights with golden spurs, thus obliterating the ancient policy of Albanach. 1057, 1107

Inaccurate as these traditions are in the letter, they are true in spirit. They give a consistent and comprehensive summary of Malcolm's policy, not as reduced by him into a code or a state document, but exhibiting the tendency of his actions and his mind, a generalization reflected back from the results. Malcolm's reign was a succession of acts and actions which the legal myth comprehends, as it were, in one simultaneous decree. From Malcolm resulted the impulse which transformed the dominions of the Scoto-Pictish Kings into an Anglo-Norman kingdom. The ideal symmetry of a feudal kingdom has never been so nearly realized as in Scotland. When each Norman or Anglo-Saxon colonist solicited, usurped, attained, or won his domain, he received from the Crown the complete usufruct. The theory of tenure imparted, nevertheless, the entire reservation of the superiority to the Sovereign, so that the Baron never could

Substantial truth of the Legal Myth.

The abstract idea of Feudality realized in Scotland.

1057, 1107

deal with his tenure otherwise than as a gift from the King. For whereas in other States, where military tenures prevailed, as in Normandy or England, the Tenant might alienate his lands, liable to the payment of a fine to the Sovereign, but without the direct intervention of that Sovereign, in Scotland alone no alienation could take place, except through the medium of the Superior.

Even at the present day, the Scottish Vassal holding immediately under the Crown must, in all changes of investiture, obtain his right, whether by Novodamus, Resignation, or Confirmation, direct from the Crown; and the gift and the possession, the Charter and the Seizin, appear to proceed from the Superior, in the same manner as if the grant had been gratuitous and original. He kneels before the Judges who represent the Sovereign, and receives investiture by the Staff.—This system was irreconcileably hostile to the national existence of the Irish Gael, for their lands were the property of the Clan, held freely and without subjection, or, in the emphatic terms of the earliest age, of God and the Sun.

Strict adherence to ancient forms in modern Scotland.

§ 22. It seems to have been a fatality inseparably attached to Margaret's influence, that she could do no good, otherwise than in connexion with mischief to the Gael. Her utmost endeavours were anxiously and consistently employed in

Margaret's English education of the Royal Family.

training up her children. They were excellently well instructed: the girls as good scholars as their mother. Those who might be unable to judge of the children's acquirements, were pleased and edified by their gentleness of demeanour, their mutual love and kindness, their due subordination, the younger always giving place to the elder, their filial obedience. They were thoroughly imbued with Margaret's kind and holy spirit, and transmitted the same spirit to their own children. So long as the male lineage of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret subsisted, the Kings and Princes of Scotland were pre-eminent in Christendom for piety, courtesy, courage, generosity, the acquirements of the understanding and the graces of the heart—common-place terms; but whatever is most important can only be expressed with truth in trite phraseology. Household virtues are best described in household words. 1057, 1107

And yet, with all this, there was one irremediable blight imparted to them by their mother. She brought them up to be an English family. She taught them from their earliest youth to despise, fear, and shun the people to whom they belonged, and over whom they were called to rule. The language of the Court and Household was English or Roman French: the manners and customs of the Gael rejected as wild and savage; and the children encouraged to consider them- The Royal Family Anglo-Saxonized and estranged from the Gael.

1057, 1107 selves as pre-eminently distinguished by their Anglo-Saxon descent. Their honour was sought through their mother. And how lively was the recollection of that mother still in England. Ask the Englishman—who represents the right old royal line? You will be answered, if he trusts you,—Why, who but Queen Margaret?—Margaret, the daughter of Edward, the son of Edmund, the son of Ethelred, the son of Edgar, the son of Edmund, the son of Edward, the son of Alfred, the son of Ethelwolf, the son of Egbert, the son of Alchmund, the son of Offa, the son of Eoppa, the son of Ingils, the son of Ina, the son of Cenred, the son of Ceolwald, the son of Cutha, the son of Cuthwyn, the son of Celin, the son of Cynric, the son of Creoda, the son of Cerdic, and so on to Woden.—In Margaret, and Margaret's children, if there be a rightful heir, (for Edgar the Atheling has resigned his pretensions,) must England seek that rightful heir of the Imperial Crown.

Not so in Albanach. When the Gaelic chieftain crossed the ravine encircling Dumferline tower, he found himself in a foreign land: strange customs, strange manners, strange priests, strange courtiers, a strange Queen, an estranged King: worst of all, that Queen and King seeking to perpetuate their estrangement through their posterity.

Edward, Margaret's first-born, renews the recollections of his father's Patron and his mother's kinsman, the Sainted Confessor. 1057, 1107 Adoption of Anglo-Saxon names.

Edmund tells you of the valiant Ironside, the hero of the English, their Defender.

Ethelred revives the memory of the immediate stem of the royal family.

Edgar recalls the glories of the Basileus of Britain: he before whom Kenneth knelt as an homager: he whose triumphant bark was rowed by the vassal Kenneth on the Dee.

Alexander records the Macedonian hero, whose gestes, the earliest of romantic legends, spread throughout the world.

David bespeaks his mother's veneration for the Prophet, whose Songs of Sion are daily heard in the isles of the Gentiles, the uttermost parts of the earth.

Editha, borne to the baptismal font in the name of the widowed Anglo-Saxon Queen.

Lastly, the youngest, Mary.

In these appellations, so significant of the sentiments entertained by the parents who bestowed them, imagination and devotion had their share; but their main recommendation was the principle which they involved. In those ages, a genealogy was more than a title-deed, more than a charter: each ancestor was a living assertor of his descendants' rights. The recollection of the English genealogy, and the resumption of the

1057, 1107 Rejection of Irish or Celtic names.

Anglo-Saxon denominations, amounted to a continued claim of the Anglo-Saxon dominion; whilst the language declared an equally continuous rejection of their ancient Irish nationality. When Malcolm and Margaret spoke to their fair sons and daughters around their board, there was not one child who answered to a Celtic appellation, whose name reminds you of Loarn, or Erc of the shining countenance, Aidan of the golden swords, Ferchar of the arrows, or Aodh, the white-shielded, Fergus, or Domangard;—not one who would have been known to the Comely hosts of the yellow tresses; not one whose name had been heard in the hall, or wailed in the coronach; sung to the harp, or sounded in the Seanachie's lay:—all were strangers.

Thus did the Irish Gael find themselves enveloped by inimical influences: their Church rebuked, their manners despised, their customs contemned, their tastes offended, their language proscribed, their lands usurped, a fierce race of strangers implanted amongst them; and, worst of all, the Royal progeny pledged to the perpetuation of implacable enmity.

Awful is the presentiment afflicting individuals and nations, when they are haunted by the vague foreknowledge of inevitable evil: the pestilence which can be anticipated, but not stayed: the distant darkness, disclosing the shadow, darker than the surrounding gloom. Would

not the Gael turn wistfully to Donaldbane, Malcolm's brother, far in the Hebrides? Better be a dependent upon the Northmen, a vassal of Magnus Barefoot, or Godred Crovan, than subjugated by a national Sovereign, who is becoming a foreigner amongst his own race, a usurper in his own realm. 1057, 1107

§ 23. During the first years after the accession of Rufus, Malcolm continued tranquil within his boundaries. A tempting opportunity was offered by the Odo rebellion, which left the Northern districts uncovered and unprotected. Nevertheless Malcolm did not move, until Rufus, by expelling Edgar from Normandy, raised a new enemy against himself. The Atheling took refuge amongst his royal kindred: the former discontents between him and his brother-in-law were forgotten; and Edgar, retaining all his affection for Robert, now considered that his allegiance towards Rufus, who had seized his English possessions, was dissolved.

1091. May. Invasion of the English territory by Malcolm Canmore.

Edgar Atheling, exported from Normandy by Rufus, again resorts to Scotland.

The results of Edgar's presence at Dumferline became speedily manifest. Malcolm, raising his forces, invaded the Anglo-Norman realm and the dubious Marchlands. There was an obvious cause of offence justifying this attack. South Cumbria had been granted to William de Meschines, a dismemberment of the district, known, when reduced into Shires, as Cumberland and Westmoreland, and properly belonging to the

1057, 1107 Scoto-Pictish Crown. Nor is it improbable but that Malcolm entertained some project of regaining Margaret's inheritance, and ruling as King-Consort over the Anglo-Norman realm.—In the van of the mixed host may there not have floated the imperial banner of Wessex: the banner of Edmund Ironside, the red dragon with fiery eyes, waving and winding in the air; that banner which rallied the army of Malcolm's youngest son and successor on the disastrous field of Cutton Moor?

Malcolm advances as far as Chester-le-Street.

Malcolm designed to overwhelm Northumbrian England. The enemy whom he would chiefly dread, in the parts adjoining to his own dominions, was cunning, swarthy, sullen Mowbray. Moreover, he might be checked by the garrison placed in the new Castle upon the Tyne: that tall, firm, Angevine fashioned tower, with its wide circuit of walls, erected during the last reign by Robert Courthose, as a barrier against the Scottish incursions. The western districts were less protected. Carlisle was wasted and abandoned, the Roman ramparts including only a desolate tract; but Dolphin, Gospatric's son, and many of the Cumbrians or their leaders were still willing to own Malcolm as their immediate Sovereign.

Malcolm appears to have taken a circuitous route. Advancing by a South-western sweep, probably aided by Cumbrian forces, and over-

spreading the country, he reached Chester-le-Street, on the banks of the Wear, where the Prelates of Lindisfairne and the relics of St. Cuthbert found shelter during the Danish ravages, rather more than half-way between Newcastle and Durham. Very great terror was excited in England by this attack: perhaps also not unmixed with hope. The husband of the Atheliza Margaret was the invader, he might conquer not only for himself, but for another, his son Edward, the representative of Cerdic. Malcolm threatened to advance; and his boldness at this juncture promised success; but the raid passed away like a hurricane. Though Rufus was absent, Flambard and his co-justiciars were present. Vigilant and active, the Regency dispatched an army against Malcolm, who retreated. No mention is made of any battle. Such a repulse, therefore, was not a defeat: far more would the booty carried off by Malcolm and his people invite them to repeat the foray, than any chastisement deter them. Was it not worth the venture, when, for each slain catheran, (and the more slain the better,) a score of rother-beasts might be won?

1057, 1107

The Justiciars of England repel him.

§ 24. It was this intelligence which, reaching Rufus in Normandy, recalled him to England, for the purpose of punishing Malcolm's rebellion. Courthose joined his brother. The Duke knew the north country well, and Rufus probably anti-

1091. August. Rufus occupied in the settlement of the affairs of Normandy, returns to

1057, 1107 England with Robert, when informed of the Scottish invasion.

cipated that the friendship subsisting between him and the Atheling might aid in a pacification, should any contingency make it expedient to bring the war to an amicable conclusion.

Courthose lent his cordial aid, sharing in the command of the army. There was a double object in this expedition: not merely to repel or punish an enemy, but to enforce the service denied by the Vassal. Rufus collected all the forces which populous and powerful England could furnish. England's fleets sailed up the North Sea, whilst the army advanced under the command of the King, the Duke of Normandy, and the Anglo-Norman chieftains. But the expedition was ill-timed. Whether delayed by those obstacles against which no foresight can guard, or impelled by his impetuous temper, Rufus began the campaign at the season of the declining year, when the elements were sure to war against him. His vessels were dispersed, wrecked, sunk by the equinoctial gales: the troops starved on the bleak and barren land, and the desolation which the Conqueror had inflicted upon Northumbria, aided in bringing calamity upon his son.

1091. September. Rufus invades the Scottish territories by land and by sea.

1091. Autumn. Malcolm advances against Rufus.

§ 25. Malcolm advanced out of Scotia into the Lothians, still colloquially reckoned as England. The people were English, and their language English, therefore the political separation was often forgotten; just as the German included *Elsatz* in the notion of *Deutschland*, long after

the fertile Rhinebank had been ceded to the French Crown. The Peasantry of Alsace retain the same notion still. 1057, 1107

Unexpectedly, Rufus and Malcolm came in sight of each other. The entire ignorance under which Generals and armies laboured concerning the movements and operations of their enemies, constitutes a peculiar feature of military operations during the Anglo-Norman era.—The Conqueror had been a great Commander, but his talent expired with himself; and, generally speaking, we may say that the mediæval nations, had, at this period, lost the discipline of civilized war without acquiring the sagacity of the savage. Though harassed and reduced, the forces of Rufus were formidable to Malcolm, but at the same time the situation of the King in this remote and inhospitable region was not without peril. Before him, the Forth; the Scottish hosts hovering on his flank; around him famine; in the rear, an insurgent country, and the suspected Mowbray. Each monarch had sufficient reasons to forbear; and the precautions which Rufus had taken for the purpose of procuring an amicable settlement succeeded. Malcolm was not actuated by any determined or implacable hostility; he hesitated to repudiate the homage claimed by the Anglo-Norman Crown. The armies meet, but keep each other in check.

§ 26. Robert, with the assent of Rufus, passed over to the Scottish camp, where, meeting Mutual concessions. Malcolm agrees

1057, 1107 to obey Rufus as he had obeyed the Conqueror.

Edgar Atheling, these friends acted as mediators. Peace was concluded on fair terms, and with no inconsiderable degree of diplomatic skill. Each party obtained substantial advantage, sufficiently enabling him to claim the stipulations as the result of success. Far and wide might Englishman and Norman spread the news, how Malcolm Canmore, humbled by the very aspect of the Anglo-Norman army, abandoning his pretensions of independence, agreed to obey Rufus, even as he obeyed the Conqueror, King William, before him,—on these conditions had he obtained peace,—*ea conditione ut Willielmo, sicut patri suo obedivit, Malcolmus obediret.* True, but not the whole truth.—Thus might the English and Normans exult, and the Court and courtiers of Rufus triumph. But how might the treaty be construed in the North? When Malcolm's clerks and courtiers returned to Dumferline, they would lay no peculiar emphasis upon the submission portion of the transaction, they would not talk much about it; and, discreetly shading the homage, they on their part would also rejoice at the glorious conclusion of the warfare, whereby Malcolm Canmore, King of Scots, Prince of Strath Clyde and Cumbria, and Lord of Lothian, Queen Margaret's husband, had won the restitution of all his rights, the satisfaction for all his claims.

Mutual advantages resulting from the treaty.

Some particulars are told by the Monks of Durham, of Peterborough, of Worcester, and

St. Evroul; but we collect them more distinctly in Westminster Abbey, close at home. Enter the arched chamber, the Treasury where the Confessor kept his hoard, on the eastern side of the Cloisters, between the Chapter-House portal and the Refectory. Here are the muniments of the Kingdom, arranged and catalogued by Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, who as Lord Treasurer had them whilome in his charge. Ask for the keys of the huge iron-bound, oaken hutch, and, opening the three locks, take out the Charter which Malcolm's grandson, the second Alexander, obtained from Cœur de Lion's Chancery, (we believe that Edward Longshanks brought it back again,) and in this faded document you will read the privileges which his Grandsire had enjoyed. 1057, 1107

Twelve marks of good red gold, paid and told every year to Malcolm from the English Treasury.—Twelve broad Manors restored, to be held of the Crown of England, where Malcolm and his followers may, when he journeyed to the South, revel and rest, roast the beef on the skewer, and broach the bright ale.—One hundred shillings for every day from and after Malcolm or his successors shall have passed his own confines, pursuant to the King's writ or summons, in journeying towards the King's Court: and as much for his journey homeward, until he shall have re-entered his own land.—Thirty shillings in sterling

Privileges secured to the Kings of the Scots in return for their submission to the English Crown.

1057, 1107 silver, twelve wastel-cakes, twelve simnels, four quarts of wine, and forty wax-candles, all of the same kind as the Royal Household use, two pounds of pepper, four pounds of cinnamon, and two stone of wax, quality not specified, all duly paid, measured, and weighed to Malcolm day by day, and each and every day, and for each and every day from his arrival at Court until his departure, whilst he, the King of Scots, as a liegeman, shall be in actual attendance on the King of England.

Moreover, to the King of Scots was allowed the honour, sought but denied to the Cymric Princes. He bore the sword before the King; and Parliamentary traditions commemorated, even to our own age, the memorials of the suit and service rendered by the premier Liegeman of the Empire to the Anglo-Norman Crown.

Chair of the King of Scots placed beside the throne in the House of Lords.

"What is the meaning of this seat?" said a member of the House of Commons, whose words we faithfully record, to the old Usher of the Black Rod, pointing to an arm-chair placed beside the throne.—"It is for the King of Scots," was the answer: the custom having been transmitted by continual usage, from time whereof the memory of man knew not to the contrary. The chair of the Scottish King continued in the ancient position, until the fastidious fancy of the Regent-Sovereign displaced and destroyed this signal illustration of our constitutional history.

§ 27. As friends, the Kings seemed to part: Rufus marched homewards. The description of his route, as given by the Chroniclers—from "Northumbria," through "Mercia," into "Wessex," discloses a fact possessing greater historical importance than belongs to the mere line of march. The expressions employed shew, forcibly, how the constitutional geography of the Anglo-Saxons was preserved. The Anglo-Norman King chose to be accompanied by his Ducal brother, and the Atheling Edgar. Their presence testified the restoration of harmony: the ungrateful stipulations which banished the English Prince from England and from Normandy were virtually rescinded. We possess evidence also that Edgar Atheling ultimately obtained restitution of his lands, where he found a retreat, and closed his lengthened life in peace and quietness.

1057, 1107 — 1091. November. Rufus returns to South Britain.

The reconciliation between Rufus and Robert had proved honourable and advantageous to both; but the transient illusion of concord between the false brothers was immediately dissipated; they could not live except in enmity. Rufus refused to perform the stipulations into which he had entered with Robert, the price of the Duke's useful services. At Yule-tide Rufus held his Court and wore his crown as usual; that great constitutional ceremony never neglected till the accession of the Plantagenet

1057, 1107 dynasty. Robert and Edgar were invited to
1091. grace and honour the festivities. They attend-
23 Dec. ed; but the joy of the solemn season was marred
Quarrels between Rufus and Robert renewed,— the latter breaks away from England. and destroyed by the fraternal outburst. The reiterated angry demands of Robert brought on as angry a refusal from Rufus; and, two days before Christmas, on the feast of St. Clement, Robert, taking the Atheling with him, rushed away in great despite, and returned to Normandy, renewing the scarcely-suspended dissensions and quarrels.

1092. Rufus occupies Carlisle. § 28. Although it cannot be asserted that Robert and the Atheling were in anywise guarantees of the treaty of peace between Rufus and Malcolm, yet their friendship would have contributed to good understanding. Affairs again became uneasy in the North. Malcolm's conduct began to excite suspicions of his hostility towards Rufus, or furnished a pretence for aggression. In the following year, therefore, Rufus made another bold and threatening movement; shewing much statesmanship. Lugubalia, or Carlisle, though amidst the British population, had always been excluded from the grants of Cumbria and Strath-Clyde, the apanages of the Scoto-Pictish Monarchy. The City, together with the circuit or liberty of fifteen miles round about, was erected into an English Sheriffdom or Bailiwick. Placed under the protection of St. Cuthbert, the district was annexed to Bernicia or Northum-

bria, a portion of the Kingdom or the Earl- 1057, 1107
dom, an enclavure in Cumbria. Utterly desolated by the Danes, Carlisle continued wasted and abandoned: the few inhabitants of the adjoining country avoided the precinct as though a dread had come upon them. No attempt was made to occupy the tract, either for habitation or culture. More than two centuries had now elapsed since sword and fire laid the city low. Great oak-trees grew up amidst the ruined Roman walls. Eden's waters flowed idly. Neglected, as insignificant or worthless, Carlisle had been forgotten by the Anglo-Norman Councils. Dolphin, son of the great Gospatric, had, as we have before mentioned, occupied the place with his followers. The district became a Scottish outpost, menacing South Cumbria, claimed by Malcolm as his rightful dominion, still wrongly withheld.

Carlisle restored by Rufus.

Rufus marched thither at the head of a large army, and, expelling Dolphin, restored the city. Employing portions of the Roman structures as a nucleus, he raised the castle, re-built the towers. The seat of Arthur's fabled chivalry was garrisoned by the Norman soldiery, and here they might first become acquainted with those wondrous fictions which have constituted the most powerful element in the inspiration of poetry. Here in the rude North, and amidst the rugged moors, were the prototypes of the Round Table

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and the Joyeuse Garde, the ultimate sources of Tasso's epic, and Arioşto's lay.

The Conqueror slew, and slaughtered, and dispersed, but he never attempted to transplant masses of men. Rufus executed a bolder stroke of policy than had been ventured upon by his father.—Let Uther Pendragon do what he can, Eden will run where Eden ran, is the old Cumberland adage;—but a new race became settled upon Eden's pleasant borders. Rufus brought together a large population from the South: English churls, their wives and their children, whom he settled on the deserted, though not ungrateful, soil. It is to the expansion of this colony of hostile blood and race, that we may attribute the ultimate extinction of the Cymri: so thoroughly expunged from the Cumbrian region, that no trace can be found of them except a tradition or a name.—Helvellyn sounds to us as their dying moan.

Carlisle and its vicinity rendered an English settlement.

§ 29. This is a perplexed period in the history of Scotland and the Scottish border. Malcolm was sustaining great vexations and anxieties, such as threatened his Kingdom. Independent Anglo-Norman adventurers would be even more formidable than the Norman King. Wales affords the strongest illustration of this assertion. All around, nigh or distant, constituted as fine a field for Anglo-Norman enterprize, as the territory of the uncivilized Spaniards to

Malcolm harassed by Anglo-Norman adventurers.

the "American Anglo-Saxon." The Earldom of Richmond, held by Alan the Red, gave the Breton a position within a few days march of the Lothian frontier. So troubled was Malcolm, so unable, as he feared, to protect even his own family from the Norman power, that he and Margaret, the father and the mother, were compelled to send young Editha to her aunt Christina, now Abbess of Romsey in England; the Minster might protect the damsel whom the castle-walls could not defend. Christina, rigid and stern, did not, like Margaret, adorn her piety by kindness; she determined that Editha should take the veil: she would dress the girl in the garb of a novice, and scold at her because she refused to pronounce the vows.—Editha, as she herself tells us, for we have her authentic legal deposition of the facts, dreaded her Aunt's presence; but she had a will of her own also. Out of her Aunt's sight, she would take the veil off her head, and stamp on it; and when she was brought back to Dumferline, wearing the same attire, Malcolm Canmore used also to snatch off the ugly thing, and say he would rather see her Earl Alan's wife, than locked up in a Monastery.

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Editha placed for safety with her aunt Christina in England.

§ 30. Troubles arose again in the relations between the Anglo-Norman Monarch and the Scot. There are difficulties in making out which of the two was the complaining party: none, as to

Renewal of dissensions between Rufus and Malcolm.

1057, 1107

the party acknowledged to be the superior. Malcolm may have deemed the occupation of Carlisle an act of hostility, and he is represented as a suitor for peace. Furthermore, he petitioned that the stipulations which Rufus entered into with him, should be fully performed. Rufus, on his part, having some grief against Malcolm, some charge which it was needful for the latter to answer, summoned the Scottish Monarch to appear at Gloucester, before the Court, on St. Bartholomew's day. Malcolm prepared to obey the mandate; but we may doubt whether Rufus permitted him to journey from manor to manor, receiving the allowance and enjoying the good cheer. Durham claimed Malcolm's spiritual allegiance, William de St. Carileph being his Diocesan; and it was during this journey that he assisted in the solemn ceremony of the Minster's foundation, laying the first and corner-stone.

Malcolm summoned to appear before Rufus at Gloucester, on St. Bartholomew's day, 24th August, 1093.

Malcolm reached Gloucester when Rufus had recovered from that dangerous illness, so strangely conducive to Anselm's appointment. Health returned, imparted cheerfulness. Rough and boisterous mirth might also accompany returning strength: but the same unconquerable violence of temper which brought on the first attack, continued to rage within him. Rufus was maddening with pride. Malcolm approached the royal residence. The rude usher closed the chamber-door. Rufus would neither see

Malcolm nor speak to him. He would not admit the King of Scots into his presence, insisting that Malcolm, the delinquent, was bound to submit to the judgment of the Court before which he was called. Explanations ensued. Malcolm, without denying the supremacy of the British Crown, maintained that, according to the old Law, if summoned to answer, he was only amenable to the judgment of the Court assembled on the Marches, where the Kings of the Scots were accustomed to do right to the Kings of England; *ubi reges Scottorum erant soliti facere rectitudinem regibus Anglorum:* fulfilling the judgment given by the Nobles of either realm. A vestige of this jurisprudence may be found in the long-continued border custom, when the Knights of England and of Scotland assembled, with cautious step and wary glance, to administer justice between the hostile neighbours who dwelt on either side, in the debateable land. More complete is the similarity in the case of the Conqueror himself, who if he rendered obedience to the Capet, was to meet the French Sovereign beneath the ancient tree, on the confines of the Duchy and the Kingdom.

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Rufus affronts Malcolm.

Malcolm declares his willingness to do right to the King of England, according to ancient usage.

§ 31. Seize your enemy now that he is in your power,—was the advice given to Rufus by his counsellors. But Rufus refused to violate the protection which the lawful summons to his Court afforded, and Malcolm returned to his

Malcolm returns to Scotland, and prepares for his fifth invasion of England.

1057, 1107 dominions in safety. The peace was, however, at an end: Malcolm determined to renew hostilities. A raid might obtain the satisfaction which Rufus denied.

The expedition was planned with more than usual caution. Malcolm associated his eldest son, Edward, in the command, though his mother almost forbade him to go. Edgar also joined the host. To the care of Edgar Atheling, Malcolm entrusted Margaret and the other children, Ethelred, Edmund, Alexander, David, Editha, Mary. As a further precaution, they were removed from Dumferline Tower to the Castle of Maidens, Edinburgh; the rock, whose height, surrounded by the lochs below, offered greater security than Dumferline, should any mischance arise. The English population of Lothian, was more congenial and loyal to the English Margaret and the English Edgar, than the Celtic tribes. Penances and austerities, privations and self-sacrifices, taught by faith, submitted to in faith, vigils, and fastings, had destroyed Margaret's health; she was now wasting away. Broken by infirmity, racked by constant pain, she could only travel in a litter, rarely rise from her couch; —very sad was Margaret's parting from husband and son.

Margaret and the children placed under the protection of Edgar Atheling in Edinburgh Castle.

§ 32. For the fifth time, Malcolm harried England with fire and flame: he overspread the country, ravaged and plundered Teesdale, Cleve-

Malcolm invests Alnwick Castle.

land, and Richmondshire; then directing his course homeward, invested Alnwick Castle, taking his station on the North. The season was exceedingly stormy: deluges of rain swelled the streams and broke up the ground. Fearless Malcolm and his men crossed the river Aline by the ford which still bears his name. It was a bold enterprize of Malcolm's to attempt reducing such a fortress, new in its strength, and defended by the Earl Mowbray, and his favourite Morel.—Mowbray the stubborn and stern, who answered not if you spake to him, who made no return if you saluted him, upon whose sullen countenance a smile was never seen: Mowbray always troubled, full of guiles and wiles, and whose cunning inspired as much apprehension as his ferocity. 1057, 1107

1093. 13 Nov. Malcolm and his son Edward slain before Alnwick.

§ 33. Within the Castle of Alnwick, the Warder, passing from Hotspur's Chair, conducts you down a steep and gloomy flight of steps, opening into a small, concealed, but protected postern: hence, as he informs you, sallied forth the warrior Hamond, by whom Malcolm was slain. The legend is somewhat old, and may be traced as early, at least, as Hotspur's time. If in the York and Lancaster period a pilgrim visited the adjoining Abbey, the Monk would tell him the ballad tale, whilst he gazed upon and admired the Percy shield, in which the Lion passant azure of Brabant quarters the five fusils, and the pendant banner, heavy with rich embroi- The Piercy Legend.

1057, 1107 dery, barred with gold and green, mottoed "Esperance en Dieu," displaying the crescent badge given by the Earls.

"When the fierce Scots besieged the Castle, the stout valiant soldier stole out, determined to brave every danger. Hamond simulated himself as an herald of peace:—the garrison, straitened by Malcolm's besieging army, as he told the sentinels, had resolved to implore the King's clemency. He was sent forth to proffer the Castle's keys, pendant on the sharp point of his lance.—Malcolm, unsuspicious and unarmed, received the messenger at his tent's door; when Hamond suddenly transfixed the King in the eye; by his speedy flight into the woods he escaped the vengeance of the Scottish soldiery, and the surname *Pierce-eye*, or *Percy*, acquired by the act, was transmitted to his noble posterity."—Such were the traditions of the age, when the pleasant fictions of Chivalry, that Chivalry whose ideal period recedes when you advance in search of it, like the base of the rainbow, began to be incorporated by Herald and Pursuivant, with the information derived from pedigree, chronicle, and Charter.

1093. 13 Nov. The Historical narrative of Malcolm's death.

§ 34. Authentic history agrees with these fables in the main fact, that Malcolm's death, on the festival of St. Brice, a festival still recognized in our Calendar, was effected through a stratagem which conscience repudiates, though

the laws of war absolve the perpetrator. Morel, so intimately connected with Malcolm, by a bond then deemed no less strong than the ties of consanguinity, seduced or betrayed his "gossip" into an ambush, where Mowbray's forces surrounded him; but it was by Morel's own hand that the King was slain. The deed was committed upon a rising ground, on the Northern banks of the Alne, opposite the Castle: whose image reflected in the stream may oft be seen, intersected, yet not concealed, by the shadows which the towers cast. 1057, 1107

Malcolm slain by stratagem.

The locality is indicated with singular precision. Malcolm's Cross still marks the spot where Malcolm fell. Other memorials there were, but Malcolm's Well is obliterated: subterraneous workings, disturbing the adjoining strata, have drawn off the waters; and time and violence have ruined the Chapel of St. Leonard, founded by the piety of Eustace de Vescy, who, married to a Margaret of the royal family of Scotland, endowed the Sanctuary for the repose of Malcolm's soul.

Precise indication of the locality.

A general attack upon the Scottish forces ensued. Mowbray's troops pursued them, and afforded to the Northumbrian Earl a glorious victory. Very many of the Scots were drowned in the over-flowing rivers, or clemmed in the quagmires, or suffocated in the marshes, or slaughtered in the rout. Some took refuge in the

1057, 1107 Death of Edward, Malcolm's eldest son.

woods which covered the country up to the Scottish border. Prince Edward, the King's eldest son, who received a mortal wound in the conflict, was carried off from the field of battle to the forest which bounded the Redesdale, where he died. The name of *Edward's Ley*, given to the glade, commemorated his fate: his body was deposited by the side of his father's in Tynemouth Priory; but both the corpses were subsequently translated to the Royal sepulchres at Dumferline.

1093. 16 Nov. Death of Margaret in Edinburgh Castle.

§ 35. Margaret continued languishing in dreary Dunedin: distressed, heavy-hearted; unable to rise from her bed, a widening chasm of time separating her from those most dear. No messenger from Northumbria reached her. No intelligence from the Host. Nothing known how Malcolm had sped; nothing about Edward, from whom she had parted so reluctantly; nothing about Edgar.—The rough, coarse weather, the raging floods which destroyed the tracks, might in some degree account for the delayed intelligence; yet these circumstances, adding to the perils of the expedition, would also increase solicitude. Each gloomy, brief November day was lengthened by anxiety: night brought no comfort. Sinking rapidly under bodily infirmity and foreboding dread, speaking as if certain that her children would soon be deprived of all parental care, she earnestly besought her confessor and chaplain,

Turgot, to guide them for good. Margaret still clung to life. Nothing but lingering love kept her affections in the world: she became feebler and feebler: having received the Holy Communion, her face turned more ashy pale, and the bystanders knew that death was nigh. Edgar entered the chamber. He was silent. Margaret's anxious enquiries,—Where was Malcolm? where Edward? received one answer. It was well with them,—was the reply. No more earthly hope, no more fear.—Margaret's yearning earnestness, nevertheless, extorted the details of the calamity. She heard, burst into an ejaculation of praise and thanksgiving, and expired. 1057, 1107

§ 36. Whilst the mourners were watching and wailing, and the tapers burning round the tranquil corpse, their flickering flames contending with the murky air, Dunedin was suddenly surrounded by the hostile forces of the Gael. Malcolm's death had been the signal for a general insurrection. Morel and Mowbray had set them free: they reverted to their national rights, they proclaimed their natural Sovereign—natural by blood and lawful by right: the brother of the deceased Monarch, one who would own them as his people. It must be recollected, that, as yet, the law of direct and lineal representation had not been established amongst the Scots. The function of deciding upon the succession, depended upon those Seven Chieftains whom later

Donald-bane called to the throne by the Gael.

1057, 1107 constitutional language termed the Seven Earls of Scotland. They were the authorities empowered to bestow the Sovereignty upon that individual to whom the Crown of Fergus properly belonged.

Donaldbane supported by the Norwegians.

Donaldbane was proclaimed. With lightning swiftness the fiery Cross reached the Western Islands. The Norwegians immediately gave their support to the future King of the Scots. It is asserted that he purchased the alliance by making a formal cession of the Ebudes to Magnus. The sturdy Northman was already master of the islands; but he gladly gave his aid. The fleet was always ready; the crews eager for conflict, the battle-axes hanging on the wall. The Scandinavian and Celtic warriors, united; and, from the rapidity of their progress, it should seem as if Donaldbane had been expecting the opportunity. Donaldbane is accused of inimical intentions against his brother's family. Hence, the investment of the Castle, during that mourning time, when the inmates were protected by the sanctity of sorrow. The dense fogs which enveloped the rock suggested or afforded the means of escape. Two of Malcolm's sons refused to abandon their country and their people. Edmund passed over to his father's brother Donaldbane, hailed and accepted as King. Ethelred returned (as we conjecture) to his Abbey of Dunkeld, and disappears from history. The other

Donaldbane invests the Castle of Edinburgh.

children gathered round their maternal uncle, the Atheling Edgar; and, protected and guided by him, they all reached England in safety. 1057, 1107

§ 37. Edgar was not molested by Rufus; but he became the object of enmity. An accusation of treason was preferred against him by a faithless Englishman, Orgar: the Atheling came within the danger of the law; but there were many still strongly affected to the old English line. Godwin of Winchester offered himself as Edgar's champion in the battle-trial, meeting the appeal of treason, and gained the victory. Edgar Atheling henceforward recovered the favour of Rufus, and enjoyed his confidence. Rufus had the wisdom to perceive that there was no reason whatever to fear the Atheling's ambition, and that there was much to expect from his heartiness and his fidelity. Rufus was, indeed, preparing, when opportunity should offer, to reassert that supremacy which Malcolm had so recently acknowledged; and he was advantaged by the circumstances which had placed so many members of Malcolm's family in his power. Malcolm's eldest son, the son of his youth, the son of his first love,—Duncan, though released from captivity by the Conqueror's death, had never been recalled by his father, but continued to flourish under the protection of Rufus. The hostage seized by the Conqueror became the favourite of his politic successor.

Edgar and the children of Malcolm and Margaret, (Edmund excepted) take refuge in England.

Duncan, Malcolm's son by Ingebiorga.

The children of Malcolm and Margaret were

1057, 1107 all ultimately adopted, so to speak, by Anglo-Norman England. The Princesses were, in the first instance, placed considerately and kindly under the care of their aunt Christina at Romsey. Edith resumed the monastic garb. It was generally supposed that she had taken the vows; or that, if not actually professed, she was equally bound in conscience. People seemed determined to believe that during her infancy she had been offered by her parents to the service of the altar. This supposition was entirely unfounded, and was afterwards disproved by canonical process and legal evidence; nevertheless, it is probable that her aunt the Abbess insisted upon the supposition, as though it were true. Edith was very beautiful. She inherited her mother's talent, her mother's warm affection, sweetness, patience, piety,—and profited by all the cultivation, both intellectual and moral, that Margaret had bestowed. Therefore, notwithstanding her supposed profession, suitors presented themselves, courting the poor damsel of high degree. William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, sought her hand: the Earl made his application to Rufus: Edith, if considered as a Royal Ward, could not be espoused without the Royal assent. Another suitor offered, a pleasant and attractive lover, Henry Beauclerc, who at all times in his life

Editha and Mary placed with their aunt Christina.

Edith courted by Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and by Beauclerc.

> En noble dames et en belles,
> Et en corteises damiselles,
> Tourna son deduit et s'entente.

Edith was sufficiently attractive to warrant the assumption that Henry loved her, according to his sort of love. If the Nesta were not already put away, he was quite ready to dismiss her. Edith's attractions were also enhanced by her lineage: the lustful though wary Porphyrogenitus could not fail to recollect the influence which her descent from Cerdic possessed upon the English mind. But her Monastic seclusion, or some other obstacle, opposed his views, and no further did the courtship proceed till a more fortunate or unfortunate day, when, under the name of Matilda, she espoused the Anglo-Norman King. 1057, 1107

§ 38. Whilst describing the principal events relating to Malcolm, Margaret, and their children, we have hitherto conversed with their most intimate associate, their companion, their friend, one who heard their daily conversation, who was possessed of their designs and thoughts. But Turgot now quits us: he returns for a while to Durham; and instead of listening to a member of the domestic circle, we are again left to the information derived from distant observers, with small opportunity of ascertaining the precise truth, and contenting themselves with brief and desultory memorials. Dimness covers the scene, and we are now necessitated to form conjectures concerning the actions and sentiments of men, who pass before us like shadows—and yet are they more 1093, 1094. Donaldbane supported by Edmund, his nephew.

1057, 1107 shadows than those which surround us? As with the present, so with the past, we must attempt, by throwing ourselves into feelings which change not with the changes of the world, to obtain some interpretation of the obscurities in which we are involved.

Donaldbane expels the Anglo-Normans.

The first and joyful consequence of Donaldbane's accession was the expulsion of the strangers. Our Anglo-Saxon Chronicle dolefully and emphatically announces this re-conquest; but we do not think it was in anywise complete, or that any were driven out, except from the districts immediately within the power of the newly inaugurated Sovereign. Donaldbane strengthened himself, however, by granting to his son Madach, the Earldom, (for the Anglo-Saxon title had become quite established in Malcolm's reign,) of Athol; and Madach, afterwards matching with Norwegian Haco's daughter, became the progenitor of a powerful chieftainry, who gave some trouble to the Crown. The circumstance, however, which more completely than any other, demonstrates the moral influence of Donaldbane, was the adhesion of Edmund, that third son of Malcolm and Margaret, who, instead of joining Edgar Atheling, had (as before mentioned) like Ethelred, chosen to continue among the Scots. In the other children, the training bestowed by Margaret proved efficient. She had succeeded in rendering them thoroughly English, to the very

Madach, son of Donaldbane, Earl of Athol.

marrow of their bones: Edward, Edgar, Alexander, David, Edith, Mary, all of them as completely English, as if they had been born and bred in the Palace of Westminster. But Edmund, though equally cultivated and instructed by his mother, shewed by his actions that he was a true Celt in heart. He felt the certain misery which would ensue from the English and Norman colonization, and devoted himself thoroughly to his Celtic uncle's cause. 1057, 1107

§ 39. Rufus had steadily watched the affairs of the North. From thence, troubles were always likely to arise. Astute Mowbray and restless Malcolm kept each other in check: it was hard to say who might become most dangerous to the King. Mowbray's victory was no great gain to Rufus; and the death of Malcolm had again left the question of submission open. Malcolm's homage did not bind Donaldbane. With him, the obligation was only inchoate: a Scottish Monarch rarely rendered his allegiance to the King of England, except when compelled. However, Rufus possessed within his own power the machinery for renewing his dominion. His conduct towards Duncan had been very prudent and considerate, obviously contemplating the possibility of such a contingency as the present. Rufus bestowed the degree of Knighthood upon Duncan, and married him to an English Atheliza, Ethelreda or Elreda, who had some claim to

1094. May. Duncan the son of Malcolm becomes King of the Scots by the support of Rufus.

1057, 1107 the great Earldom of Northumbria: and encouraged by his advantageous position, the son of Malcolm preferred his claim to the Scottish Crown.

Questions as to Duncan's legitimacy.

The question of Duncan's illegitimacy has been fruitlessly discussed. Contradictory assertions, and dubious facts, can scarcely produce any other result. We believe, however, that as in almost every similar case occurring in those days, there was a satisfactory mezzotermine. Malco lm andIngebiorga (we will say) had been united hand in hand, according to the traditional customs of the Northmen, but their union lacked the blessing of the Church. Yet, whether Duncan was truly or not the child of a concubine, is a matter comparatively of little moment: practically, the distinction between the wife's lawful issue and the unmarried mother's progeny, was not very broadly marked. Arlotta's grandson would not be much inclined to enquire minutely, whether Malcolm had or had not been duly espoused to the Scottish maiden or the Norwegian matron who bore the suppliant.

Duncan, already naturalized in England, the King's familiar, coming forward ostensibly as a tenant suing to have livery, or to be put in possession of his inheritance, prayed (certain of a gracious answer) that Rufus, the Suzerain, would be pleased to grant him his father Malcolm's Kingdom.—This opportunity of intervention was

in every way grateful and advantageous. Malcolm's death had removed a dangerous enemy: the petition preferred by Duncan enabled Rufus to assert his imperial right with consistency and cogency. He consented to acknowledge Duncan the claimant, Malcolm's first-born, as Malcolm's heir; and Duncan, taking the oath of fealty, confirmed the bond. Rufus, vindicating his own rights through Duncan, granted to him a sufficient military aid, English and French, (as they were called.) At the head of the Anglo-Norman troops, Duncan advanced to Scotland. Donaldbane fled, though not ignobly nor without hard fighting, and Duncan was inaugurated as King. —The unfortunate successes of the preceding reign again predominated: like his father Malcolm, the title of Duncan the heir merged in the intrusion of Duncan the conqueror. 1057, 1107

§ 40. Duncan, the English Knight, husband of the English Ethelreda, became no less strange to the Irish Gael than Anglicised Malcolm had been. But the Anglo-Norman power could not be resisted. The whole of these transactions must be considered as continuous; the change of personages does not break that continuity. It is not a series of wars for this or that Sovereign, a quarrel between claimant and claimant, the adherents of a legitimate monarch, opposed to rebels supporting a usurper, but nation arrayed against nation, a dogged, desperate fight, even 1095–1097. Donaldbane expelled by Duncan, who reigns in his stead.

1057, 1107 more venomous during the intervals of tranquillity than amidst raging war, the invaders contending for wealth and power, the natives for existence. Donaldbane fled to the Isles, where he was again protected by the Norwegian King, and befriended by the mixed population.

Donaldbane supported by the Norwegians.

Magnus, who profited by all these dissensions for the better establishment of his own dominion, continued to aid Donaldbane; the latter had a very sure ally in Scotland itself—his nephew Edmund. Thus encouraged, the Gael would not acknowledge Duncan, and fiercely resisted his authority. Defeated in a sudden attack, they had him at their mercy: they spared his life, and permitted him to reign, stipulating that he would dismiss his English and Norman auxiliaries, and never again allow the foreigner to dwell in Scottish land. More of artifice than of loyalty do we discern in this compact. Had the Gael slain Duncan at once, they would have exposed themselves to the vengeance of the mailed and disciplined Southern soldiery; but by removing the enemy, and husbanding their own resources, there was a better chance of ultimate success. Duncan, thus weakened, laid himself open to further hostility. Edmund headed the insurrection, of which the object was Donaldbane's restoration: it was said, that, if successful, Edmund was to be rewarded by half the realm; not an improbable compact. Duncan invaded the Mearns, then

The Gael compel Duncan to expel the foreign soldiers.

entirely inhabited by a Gaelic population; and he reached Monachedin, now Mondyness, the Pitcairne Barony on the banks of the Bervie. It is a species of peninsula nearly surrounded by the river; and, as artifice or treachery is hinted, he may have been conducted there by some false friend. A battle ensued. Duncan was killed by Malpeit, or Malpeddir, the Earl or Maormor of the Mearns. A tall, uninscribed stone, rude as those attributed to the Druids, marks the spot where he fell. But Duncan's son, William, survived and prospered. He obtained the great Earldom of Moray. Honoured by his lineage, formidable by his power, William Fitz-Duncan won the hand of Alice, daughter and heiress of Robert de Romilly, Lord of Skipton in Craven: the ill-fated Boy of Egremont, the issue of that marriage, stranger as he was, united the affections of the Gael to the favour of the Anglo-Normans, and, supported by the Seven Earls, contested, though unsuccessfully, his ancestor's Crown.

1057, 1107

Duncan killed by Malpeddir, the Maormor of the Mearns.

William, the son of Duncan, Earl of Moray, father of the Boy of Egremont.

§ 41. Donaldbane was reinstated: the Gael accepted him gladly. They imposed, however, a condition, and a wise one, that he should expel the Anglo-Normans or Anglo-Saxons, who were usurping the inheritance of the original race. But time was not allowed him for the consolidation of his authority; a new opportunity was afforded to a vigilant and active foe. Rufus

1098–1107.

Donaldbane dethroned. Reign of Edgar, son of Malcolm and Margaret, the first of the Anglo-Scottish Kings.

1057, 1107 determined to enforce the ancient rights of the Anglo-Saxon Crown. Edgar Fitz-Margaret flourished under the protection of Rufus, and it now became the object of the Anglo-Norman King as well as of the Anglo-Norman party, to place this English youth, for such he was in effect, upon the Scottish Throne. Could he be established there, would not Albanach become their prey? Edgar Atheling, well acquainted with the Scots, first felt his way, by negociating with Donaldbane, proposing either that he should cede his authority, or, what is more likely, content himself with a portion of the Scottish territories. These endeavours failed; and Rufus therefore entrusted to Edgar Atheling the duty of restoring the Scottish inheritance to his name-sake and nephew.

Rufus supports Edgar, the son of Malcolm.

Edgar Atheling begins by attempting to negociate with Donaldbane.

1097. September. At the head of a large and powerful Anglo-Norman army, the Atheling advanced to Scotland; his nephew with him, shewn to the people as the heir of the Scottish Monarchy. The Scottish Edgar gained support and favour; mild in temper, agreeable in aspect, manly, and vigorous. A dream confirmed him in the belief that St. Cuthbert protected the enterprize: the sacred banner was brought forth, and Robert, the English Thane, Godwin of Winchester's son, aided in the command. The Anglo-Scottish Edgar, son of Margaret, had a plausible pretence to the allegiance of the Lothians, which, morally speaking, yet constituted

Failing in this attempt, Rufus places a military force at the disposition of the Edgars.

a portion of Northumbria, for, as before observed, the political severance had not broken the links of language and affinity: nor can we doubt but the men of English race, gathered thick and strong beneath the standard raised by royal Edgar. Resistance availed nought: it was impossible for the Gael to stand against the stubborn, determinate firmness of the Anglo-Saxon host. Donaldbane fled: he was captured, cast into prison. Some scruples restrained the young Anglicised Edgar from killing his old grey-headed uncle, who must have been nearly eighty years of age; but these scruples did not go far, the Victors put out the old man's dim eyes, and Donaldbane died, in miserable captivity, at Rescobie. No one knows where his body was buried — there is a mystery about it. Some say at Dumferline, some at Dunkeld, some within the hallowed precincts of Iona. Edmund was also taken: his life was spared; but he was kept by his brother Edgar in chains and fetters, till death delivered him also. A story is current that, when worn out by weary imprisonment, and feeling himself dying, he desired to be buried in his irons, as a token of his repentance.

1057, 1107

1098. Edgar victorious over Donaldbane.

Edgar causes his uncle Donaldbane to be blinded, and keeps his brother Edmund in chains till he dies.

Genealogically, the race of the ancient Monarchs was continued from male to male, through Malcolm's progeny, till it became extinguished in the last Alexander: but straight lines, and brackets, and names written one under another,

1057, 1107

upon an emblazoned roll, do not alone constitute a pedigree. The descents may be all consistent, all certified by the Heralds, all proved by Deeds, and Charters, and Records, and certificates, and tomb-stones, and verified by affidavits duly sworn, and, nevertheless, there may be no moral continuity. So great was the transformation which ensued in Malcolm's race, that Scottish Historians are unanimous in terminating the series of the Scoto-Irish Kings with Donaldbane. His lineage, however, subsisted, and dreamed about their ancient rights. John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, who appeared before Edward as a competitor for the Scottish Crown, traced his genealogy from Donaldbane through the female line, and claimed the Crown in right of his remote progenitor.

Donaldbane, last of the Scottish Kings: his rights transmitted to Comyn Badenoch.

1098–1107. Characteristics of Edgar's government.

§ 42. Therefore, with Edgar, though Malcolm's son, arose an entire new dynasty, the dynasty of the Anglo-Scottish Kings: destruction to the Gael. By the behest of Rufus, Edgar was appointed to be the first King of the new realm, the Anglo-Saxon Scotland, in fealty to the English Monarch, a fealty which he constantly maintained. Much honoured by Rufus was the Scottish King: the favour he enjoyed, and his pre-eminence over the other dependents of the Empire, was testified in the great solemnities when Rufus wore his Imperial Crown. Recompensed by the distinction which the Cymric Princes failed to obtain,

Edgar, the vassal, but himself a Sovereign, bore the Sword of State before the English King. 1057, 1107

The scheme of policy contemplated by Malcolm acquired full strength and consistency under Edgar, and may be designated as a plan, professedly intended to place Scotland in the social position which England held. To employ our common phrase, Edgar adopted the "age of the Confessor" as his model; but, as in all similar cases, the ideal conformity to a previous period was exceedingly modified by change of men, place, and time; and, in reality, the Scoto-Saxon Monarchy ripened into an adaptation of the model presented by the Anglo-Norman Commonwealth. But the most important of the characteristics of Anglo-Norman England, the institutions which defended the subject against oppression, were in great measure forgotten. We never find in ancient Scotland, as in ancient England, that doctrine of remedial justice, which, however slowly it may have expanded, and with whatever imperfections it may have been alloyed, has, nevertheless, contributed to establish our principles of national honour and integrity.

The Kingdom of Scotland constituted upon the Anglo-Norman mode.

The Scottish Edgar gloried in the epithet of the Pacific, bestowed by popular gratitude upon his English namesake and ancestor; he also earned and obtained in his own age, the praise that he emulated the Confessor's piety. The commencement of his reign was signalized by the acts which declared his principles of Government.

Edgar the First, consecrated King of Scotland.

1057, 1107 Hitherto, the Kings of the Scots had been inaugurated upon the Stone of Scone, according to the patriarchal customs of the Gael. Edgar incorporated himself in the Community of Latin Christendom. By the authority of the Apostolic See, he was anointed according to the solemn rites of the Western Church, the first consecrated Monarch of Scotland, receiving that Ordination which renders the Monarch a member of the Hierarchy. Edgar assumed the Imperial title: the Basileus adopted the Crown and regal ornaments of Imperial Albion: and his great Seal, imitated from the Seal of the Confessor, expresses in the most emphatic form, the total alteration which the Royal authority had sustained. Metaphorically as well as literally, Edgar's Great Seal, the first great seal of Scotland, stamps the character of the new Kingdom.

He assumes the Imperial style.

His Great Seal.

Henceforward, the Kings of Scotland acted upon a consistently aggressive principle, importing, that, wherever their authority extended, or could be enforced, they were the owners of the soil. The King was the Supreme Landlord—no right availed against his theoretical prerogative, and that prerogative was to be equally enforced by or against justice. Edgar's personal virtues have caused his tranquil reign to pass silently, and almost unnoticed, through the annals of History; but like his father and mother, his virtues became lethal to his race. "Maolcholum Mac Donnchaidh," was the last name of a Scottish

Scotland anglicized by the Scottish Kings.

Monarch which the genealogist could repeat in the speech of the Irish Gael. Edgar stands upon the fated stone; but the Celtic Monarchy has departed. Edgar is no more a patriarchal Chief, but a crowned and conquering King, appertaining to a strange, hostile, fierce, conquering, greedy, intolerant people. The Scoto-Saxon Monarch alienated himself from the past; silencing the Harp, and turning a deaf ear to the Bard, he complacently listened to the foreign flatterers, who traced his blood to Cerdic or to Woden. Edgar's personal taste, the language he spoke, the education he had received, the lessons of his parents, their example, the respect and affection he had borne them, his veneration for their memory; nay his very piety, separated him from the mind of the Celtic Huntsmen and Herdsmen, Lawmen and Warriors, Traditions and Poetry, Priests and Altar.

1057, 1107

The Scottish Kings alienated from the Gael.

And now begins the sorrowful History of Scotland, exhibiting the devouring malady of civilization, the increase of the comforts and temporal happiness of one race or class, distinctly and avowedly encouraged at the expence of another; so that those who choose to see nothing but the bliss, become determined to know nothing of the woe.

In its general outline, the formation of the Scottish kingdom runs parallel with Ireland, and produced the same wretched results. Two nations were placed in contact, under circum-

Parallelism of Scottish and Irish History.

1057, 1107 stances, which, by their co-ordination under one Sovereignty created increasing animosity. Hated and despised by the ruling and predominating party, the Gael had neither the privileges of fellow-subjects, nor the rights of declared enemies. Neither the Laws of peace nor war were observed towards them—the Judges strung them on the gallows; the Red-coats bayonetted and shot them on the moors: they were treated both as domestic traitors and as foreign enemies, a consistent inconsistency—it got rid of them: it shortened the process of destruction; they were denied the protection which Law grants to the criminal, and Military honour to the foe. In their own country, the Scots became the objects of the persecution the dread and the enmity of their Sovereign. Aliens upon their own soil, aliens under their own sky.

And in our times, the final consummation of their miseries:—the clearing of the glen:—the burning of the cottage:—the Sheriff substitute and the detachment,—the sheeling pulled down upon the woman in child-birth:—the farm let by auction—the "bratgalla," the foreigner's rag,—the "an riochd mallaichte," the accursed grey,—the sheep-flocks, poisoning the fresh heather by the oily rankness of their wool:—the "Highland gathering" got up in His Grace's park,—the premiums for encouraging Highland sports,—the Prize Bagpiper at the champagne party,—the Queen's letter,—the collection at the Church-

door,—the Relief committee,—the Guinea Polka ticket,—the Destitution concert,—the Emigrant steamer,—the fetid steerage,—the putrid mass of the fevered living, kneaded into the festering dying:—the warm corpse, half-shrouded in the rotten sail, heaved over the vessel's side and plashing in the water. 1057, 1107

§ 43. It is a great trial in the study of History to be perpetually contemplating human calamities; but we heighten human sorrows if we chloroform ourselves against the painful perception of their truth and reality—and amongst the various judgments so unfolded, no one more heavy to the soul than the destinies annexed to each family of mankind. These destinies are constantly displayed, blazing in light, and yet enveloped in impenetrable darkness. Whichever way we reason, whether with respect to the human individual or the human race, we encounter the inexplicable mystery of immutable omnipotent prescience concurrent with unfettered free-will. Intolerance and cruelty of the Teutonic races in relation to the other families of mankind.

Excepting in those examples where Revelation has indicated the causes of the blessing or the curse, there may be equal presumption in attempting to explain these dispensations, as in denying them. They display the pervading presence of the Almighty, rendering man the minister of His immutable decrees, or permitting man to fill up the measure of his transgressions.

1057, 1107 Affliction is not always a token of disfavour: the punishment may be designed in love, teaching those whom God has delivered into the power of the enemy, to feel how much more merciful is any chastisement which He sends, than that inflicted through the hand of man. Nor is success any sure token that the victor has received a blessing: he may be merely the executioner of vengeance; his sins being greater than those of the people whom his sword has laid low. Although the victor may not have been the most sinful in the onset, he invariably becomes so, striving to justify the causes which have induced his aggression. There is no example of any nation, which, flushed by success, has not increased in pride and tyranny. All and every the families of mankind share in this guilt,—all and every kindred, all and every tongue. Each has its own fashion in perpetrating it. The Teutonic races, succeeding as inheritors to the fierceness of the Roman Eagle, have in the later ages of the world been most fearfully predominant. Gifted with mighty intellectual vigour, they reject, they punish all others and themselves, by their intolerant, fanatic, and contemptuous pride, which takes the sweetness out of their very kindness. Amongst the Teutonic tribes, none so deeply involved in guilt as the "Anglo-Saxon race." In their treatment of the Celtic nations, they have exceeded all others in iniquity, even degraded Spain; for the

Spaniards inherited the ferocity of the Visigoths: 1057, 1107
they were nursed in blood by their constant conflicts with the Arabians, and they delighted in the accursed doctrine of religious persecution. Whereas, with none of these excuses,—so far as education, inveterate prejudice, and ignorance, may avail—the Anglo-Saxon dominion in Ireland, founded upon crafty and unprovoked aggression, has in its course and conduct been pursued in utter opposition to the dictates of justice and the rights of man, violating the laws of nations, and of nature, and of God.

Unhappy Ireland, her tears without an earthly comforter, Princes, Hierarchy, People, deposed, degraded, crushed, mocked, plundered, scourged, slaughtered, tortured to the madness of despair. —More unhappy England, sustaining the heavier judgments of the Oppressor, the deafened ear, the blinded eye, the seared conscience, the hardened heart.

These confessions are wrung from us.—Generosity and justice are claimed as our national virtues; and our confidence in the merits which we ascribe to ourselves, has, in this and, alas! too many other analogous instances, tempted us to the worst of wrongs. If individuals so often fail in what they consider their strong points, nations still more so; for they envelop themselves in self-flattery and self-delusion. There is no adulation so sneaking as that which nations, through the

1057, 1107 organs and leaders of national opinion, render to themselves. Rather be the slave licking the dust before Tiberius or Heliogabalus than the Illinois Judge, praising his fellow-citizens as a generous and excitable nation, when he directs the grand jury to ignore a Bill for burning a negro alive.—More honoured be Tiberius or Heliogabalus, than the nation by whom such incense is required.

Let us never take credit for any national virtue exercised in our Imperial policy, not even in a mercantile sense; for the evils we inflict upon one subject-nation can never be compensated by any good we bestow upon another. We cannot discharge our account by setting off happiness against suffering, and striking the balance between suffering and happiness:—the just and merciful protection extended to millions of Ryots does not relieve the misery of one evicted Irish cottager. In all our dealings with the Milesian race, there has not been one of our national principles which we have not violated, not one of our moral duties in which we have not failed.—We have despised their poverty, we have reviled their virtues, we have insulted their feelings, we have despoiled their inheritance, we have derided their fortitude, we have scoffed their heroism, we have scorned their patriotism, we have stigmatized their Faith, their comfort and support in all their calamities, as their foulest crime.

Chapter VIII.

Renewed wars and conspiracies.

1092—1096.

§ 1. "Dilexi justitiam et odi iniquitatem, propterea morior in exilio,"—were the dying words of Hildebrand.—Truly he loved righteousness and hated iniquity; hence the hatred he encountered, hence his persecutions, hence his power. During his era, and so long as his influence subsisted, the Church was in her strength and glory, because she waged an uncompromising warfare against vice. When she neglected this mission, and made friends with the world, then her strength diminished and her glory became dim. Authority is respected, even by its opponents, exactly in proportion to the efficacy which the Magistrate displays; and the disobedient, recalcitrating sense of mankind was compelled to testify unwillingly in favour of the efforts made by the Church to correct the transgressor. Of all her external offices, there is none requiring so much strength of heart and courage. It is very easy to preach sound orthodox doctrine: not hard to be earnest in enforcing the performance of good works; but most ungrateful to coerce evil. The difficulty of narrating historically the labours of the Church in restraining

1092—1096

The Mediæval Church the practical antagonist of immorality.

1092—1096 vice, consists, not in vindicating the acts of her Legislators and Magistrates, but in disclosing the sins they strove to repress. There has long been a degrading and degraded tendency to bring forward the ecclesiastical and casuistic Canons and decrees and exhortations and jurisprudence, concerning breaches of the seventh Commandment, for the purpose of gratifying prurient curiosity, or increasing prejudiced antipathy against the Catholic Priesthood: antipathy even more ignorant than prejudiced. Writers who do so, upbraid the Magistrate for possessing the qualifications which constitute his merit, the painful knowledge of the crimes he is called upon to punish. Their minds pervert anatomical demonstrations into obscene pictures. Their depraved imagination imparts to honest Vesalius the colouring of infamous Aretine. The passages, to which we will allude no further, adduced with loathsome satisfaction, for the purpose of exulting over the corruptions of the mediæval period—corruptions to which all flesh is liable—are only proofs of the stern principle which withstood the enormities.

The zeal of the Church was excited instead of being cooled by the personal dangers which her Ministers encountered: the labour now became more trying, because licentiousness was assuming a new aspect. It continued gross and shameless as heretofore, even amongst person-

ages of the highest rank. The temporal head of the Latin Commonwealth, the Emperor Henry IV, was a portent of debased brutality. His conduct towards Praxeda outrages human nature.—Nevertheless, immorality was also beginning to be rendered seductive by refinements, which adorning its coarseness, encreased its real malignity: an embroidered veil thrown over an ulcerated sore. 1092—1096

A flood of evil was pouring in from Southern Gaul. Under that bright Sun, and amongst an intelligent race, gifted almost with Hellenic vivacity, the development of talent and luxury proceeded with concurrent vigour. Here, in the Roman Province, the ancient seat of Roman civilization, more of Roman art lingered than even in Italy; particularly in and about Aix and Toulouse. The Romance language of these regions had attained grammatical regularity, a rich and sweet dialect (in subsequent times included in the Langue d'oc), affording the vehicle for a flourishing literature, exhibiting complicated and elegant versification, variety of rhythm, refined and delicate fancy; and yet saturated with immorality. Such were the compositions of the Troubadours: the whole tendency of this School of Poesy was, in plain terms, to palliate unchastity and adultery, to recommend and promote the most abandoned profligacy. This is not a vague accusation, an hypothesis laboriously extorted from dubious evidence, but the very Depravity of the South,—the Troubadours.

1092—1096 evidence itself; the arraignment comes from their own mouths, they pass judgment upon themselves: the Troubadours, cynically impudent, display their defilements before you as their pride and honour.—They inculcated depravity by precept and by example: it animated their poetry, and constituted the business of their lives.

William VII. Count of Poitou, the first of the Troubadours, 1087, 1127.

The spirit of the age is mirrored in the first Troubadour of whom any composition is preserved,—earliest in date, exalted in rank, pre-eminent in talent,—William Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine, grandfather of Queen Eleanor. Poetical fluency, wit, whim, courage, courtesy, sentimental licentiousness, reckless debauchery, all are combined in him. Count William personifies the beau-ideal of the gay and gallant Provençal Minstrel. We willingly shorten the details exhibiting his character; yet one incident must be noticed. He established a house of prostitution at Niort, which he organized as a mock monastery. Harlots robed as Nuns, ruled by a Superior whom he styled the Abbess. Count William had seduced Malburga, Viscountess of Chatelherault: discarding his own wife Hildegarda, he entertained this profligate woman in his palace in defiance of the Viscount her husband, and when he rode forth to deliver the Holy Sepulchre, with the red Cross mantle floating on his shoulder, the portrait of his adulterous companion was painted upon his

shield. The censures of the Church he entirely defied. He was excommunicated by Peter Bishop of Poictiers. When the Prelate was pronouncing the anathema, Count William rushed up to him and threatened him with death. The Bishop asked a moment's time for consideration, and then completed the sentence, presenting his neck to the Count's sword—whereupon William burst into loud laughter, telling the Bishop he hated him too much to send him to Paradise. Perhaps there is no form in which vice is rendered more seductive than when accompanied with clever and spirited levity. 1092—1096

§ 2. King Philip, not less dissolute, was destitute of the Count's talents. After many years marriage, faithful, mild, and submissive Bertha, having borne him four children, two of whom survived, she became first an object of his neglect, and next of his persecution. That he might indulge his passions with greater license, uncontrolled by the presence of his forbearing wife, he imprisoned her in the Castle of Montreuil. Self-divorced, he considered himself at liberty, and fixed his heartless affections upon the Countess of Anjou. Whitsun-eve, whilst the Clergy were pronouncing the benediction upon the Baptismal fonts, and the congregation crowding the Cathedral, Bertrada eloped, and meeting the King of France at Maindrai, half way between Tours and Orleans, he carried her off to his

Philip, King of France, elopes with Bertrada of Anjou.

1092. 15 May.

1092—1096 own domains. Some say, that Bertrada herself made the first advances, and inveigled the King: others, that he, visiting his friend and vassal Fulk, began by intriguing with Bertrada. Both may have been equally enticing and consenting.

Excuses to be made for Bertrada.

Nevertheless, if ever there was a case in which an enforced marriage could be pleaded as an excuse for subsequent misconduct, Bertrada's was one.—Fulk's vices were even more disgusting than his person; and the young and lovely Bertrada had ample reason to expect the vilest treatment from the husband to whom she had been sold. Repelled from her duty by that husband's profligacy, Bertrada was as forcibly attracted towards evil, by the dissoluteness of the class in which she was placed by birth and station.—Yet Bertrada was ultimately preserved from the deceit of thus justifying herself. Some sixteen years, or thereabouts, after Bertrada had abandoned Fulk Réchin, she died at Haute-bruyères, a cell affiliated to the rigid order of Fontevrault, and then recently established, though without her intervention, upon a Seignory constituting a portion of her dowry. She had entered this retreat as a penitent. There, she found a companion, another penitent, her kinswoman, Isabel de Montfort, the once brilliant Lady of Toeny, tamed by age, worn out, humble and contrite, seeking rest. When Bertrada took the veil, she still retained her full beauty: not a wrinkle was seen upon

1118-9. Bertrada's repentant death.

her pleasant, open countenance; but her tender and delicate frame sank before the austerities of the rule in which she professed. 1092—1096

This misdeed became the poison and misery of Philip's life. Having thus obtained his prize Bertrada, he lived in open concubinage with her, Bertha being still imprisoned at Montreuil. It was an aggravation of King Philip's unkindness, that he thus kept the Queen confined in a place which had been prepared and given to her as a Bridal bower. No divorce had been pronounced between Bertrada and Fulk, nor between Philip and Bertha; there was therefore a double adultery. Furthermore, Philip cruelly violated Fulk Réchin's hospitality, and also dishonoured the mutual relation between Lord and Vassal. Whether as a man, a husband, or a king, Philip's conduct was flagrantly despicable. Moral sensibility was somewhat obtuse at this period in the world, but Philip passed over all the conventional limits of propriety which the great usually prescribed to themselves, and this ostentatious example of Royal licentiousness excited unparalleled scandal throughout all Christendom.

Ambition actuated Bertrada more forcibly than wantonness: she had determined to be a Queen. The Countess and Philip were married: married certainly, but under circumstances of extreme privacy. All parties concerned were ashamed of themselves; and although five different prelates, Odo Bishop of Bayeux, Bonalme Archbishop of

Marriage of Philip and Bertrada.

1092—1096 Rouen, Philip Bishop of Troyes, Walter Bishop of Méaux, and Urso Bishop of Senlis, were severally accused of having unworthily profaned the holy ceremony, it is doubtful upon whom the censure falls. Probably, however, Odo of Bayeux was the delinquent. As to such other of the before-named Prelates who were present, Philip may have persuaded or terrified them into compliance, all being more or less under his influence, even the Archbishop of Rouen, who held domains in France. Nevertheless the French Clergy did their duty intrepidly, and the universal Church supported them:—no flinching, no condonation. The offence was committed in the diocese of Chartres. Ivo, the Bishop of that See, the Tribonian of the Canon Law, he who accomplished the great labour of first drafting the code, was no less resolute than learned. Ivo realized the law he taught. The impartial administration of justice was with him a fact, not a theory. He excommunicated the King. Philip revenged himself by putting Ivo in prison. The suit was brought up before a provincial Council, and the sentence ultimately confirmed by the Supreme Pontiffs Urban, and his successor Pascal. Philip was repeatedly enjoined to separate himself from Bertrada, but he refused; and except during some very short intervals, he continued excommunicated until the approach of death.

Philip and Bertrada censured by the Church.

Whenever King Philip entered a city, all Divine Service ceased. In the full exercise of royal

authority—for it is entirely untrue to assert that his subjects were authorized by the Church to withdraw their allegiance from him—he was branded with infamy, never assuming the royal ornaments, never wearing the Crown; nor had Bertrada ever the satisfaction of being saluted as Queen. 1092–1096

Fulk and Philip reconciled by Bertrada.

Fulk of Anjou displayed his resentment characteristically, by the pen, and not by the sword. In his private memoirs, he calls Philip "the traitor," without specifying the treachery. Furthermore, Fulk caused his public acts to bear record of his own and Bertrada's shame, the shame which he had deserved and earned. For example, we have a Charter of his, signed in the following terms,—"Facta est autem hæc donatio anno ab "incarnatione Domini, millesimo nonagesimo "quinto, Urbano Apostolico, Franciâ ex adulterio "Philippi indigni Regis fœdatâ." But Fulk's indignation evaporated in words: he and Philip were congenial spirits, and all parties became good friends. Bertrada's cleverness, winning manners, and lively spirit, enabled her to manage both husbands. As a token of their reconciliation they banquetted together. Fulk and Philip sat at her feet; nor did there ever afterwards appear any rivalry between them. Bertrada, not insensible to her disgrace, endeavoured to conceal her feelings by audacity. On one occasion she compelled the priests at Sens to say mass, by main force, when she was in the city: as if the

1092—1096 Services of the Church, celebrated in defiance of the Church, could profit her, cut off from communion. Philip, indolently good-humoured, sported with his degradation. Whenever the King and Queen quitted a city, their exit was marked by the bells ringing merrily, at which he used to joke with Bertrada, saying,—"Well, dear, how gladly those folks drive us away." It was thus he tried to harden himself; but the prevailing sentiment was entirely against him. The people believed that the dogs would not gnaw the bones which came from his table; and the diseases which afflicted him, painful and loathsome, were attributed to Divine vengeance.

Discomforts of Rufus and Courthose during their truce.—Plots forming against the King.

§ 3. The interference of the Church with Philip, as well as his adulterous union, had much influence in political affairs; but we must now return to circumstances more immediately concerning Normandy and England.—The Christmas outbreak at Gloucester, when Robert departed so angrily from the Court, was not immediately followed by hostile operations. The brothers were each discomforted in their respective dominions, and therefore unable to harass each other. Rufus was occupied by his discussions with Anselm; much discontent was fermenting amongst a large section of the Anglo-Normans. The King's talent and power threw the Baronage into the shade.—His rigid administration of the law restrained and provoked them. They believed he would hang a Knight

or imprison a Baron, as readily as a churl. They fretted under the yoke, and began to entertain very bold projects, decidedly more desperate than any hitherto formed. Many of the parties were deservedly suspicious to Rufus, old offenders and without any definite knowledge of their intentions, he vigilantly observed them. 1092–1096

Courthose sank in proportion as his brother rose, and completely relapsed into insignificance. Normandy became insurgent. Robert de Belesme stood prominent in the disturbances, and mixed himself up in most of the feuds which arose amongst the Baronage. Various claims which he possessed or asserted, gave him a plausible pretence for frequent interference. His activity was unabated, his cruelty unsatiated.—The Clerks bestowed upon him all the Demon-names they could collect from the mythological literature of the Infernal regions,—Pluto, Megæra, Cerberus, —which however queerly inappropriate, bespoke the deserved indignation and horror he excited. He continued to improve all his resources and talents. Skilled in the art of fortification, he was anxious to learn more: he had now engaged the assistance of a celebrated engineer, who, a few years afterwards, rendered great services to the Crusaders in Palestine. Normandy insurgent. Belesme's power and tyranny.

Had Belesme been able to restrain his cruelty within the bounds of common sense, he would unquestionably have risen to the highest political eminence and power; but his uncontrolled, almost

1092–1096 insane ferocity, counteracted his ambition. On every side Belesme provoked resistance by his unreasonable tyranny; and he so oppressed the people of Domfront, a place which he held by a confused title, compounded of inheritance and conquest, that they could not bear such treatment any longer: they sought a deliverer. From Duke Robert, as much in Belesme's power as they, no aid could be expected; so they fixed their hopes on Beauclerc, whom they invited from France. If we read a corrupted text rightly, they sent his old tutor Achard to bring him in. An insurrection of the Beauclerc party ensued, and he acquired the territory. Domfront now became a point-d'appui for further operations. Frenchmen and Bretons joined Beauclerc: his influence rapidly increased. It is probable he was secretly assisted by Rufus, and we find afterwards that he regained the whole Côtentin,—but our account of Beauclerc's exploits at this juncture is remarkably brief and obscure: he persecuted the Monks of St. Evroul by attacking their possessions; Ordericus seems therefore rather sullen, and tells as little as possible about the matter.

Henry recalled by the men of Domfront.

§ 4. Inveterate were the feuds concerning the grim Castle of Ivry. We can scarcely doubt the truth of the human sacrifice which inaugurated the Dungeon tower; but, were the story a mere myth, it is nevertheless characteristic of Ivry's fortunes.

The great feud between William de Breteuil and Asceline Goel.

William de Breteuil, now at peace with Raoul or

Ralph Toeny, was engaged in a fierce dispute with his vassal Asceline, Seigneur of Breherval and Lord of Castle Cary in England.—Goello or Goel was the surname which Asceline usually assumed, derived from a noble Breton Barony; but the designation of Lupellus, or the young Wolf, had been bestowed upon him in consequence of his savage temper, common to the whole family. This Asceline is a personage of much importance in English genealogies. Through his son William, the name Lupellus, softened into Lovel, became hereditary.—"Lovel, our dog," was his lineal descendant.—Lovels of Castle Cary and Lovels of Tichmarsh, Percevals, Egremonts, Beaumonts, and Somersetshire Gurneys, the second line of Barewe Gournay, where the walls of the old mansion are partly standing, all come from Asceline.

1092—1096

Families descended from Goel.

He and his brothers signalized themselves by their intrepid, turbulent lawlessness. William, one of this *maudite engeance*, had carried off a damsel at Pascy. William de Breteuil, sitting in his Baronial Court, passed judgment upon him. Asceline resented this administration of justice as an unbearable indignity. He defied his liege-lord, and, attacking Ivry, surprised the Castle, and surrendered it to Courthose, who claimed the possession as a Ducal domain. But instead of holding Ivry as a place of defence, he restored the fortress to Breteuil, receiving, nevertheless, a good sum of money for the same. This trans-

Cause of the quarrel.

1092—1096 action exasperated the enmities between William de Breteuil and Asceline. The latter now became equally fierce against his superior. Barons and Knights were always standing ready to be hired: money never failed to secure their aid. Asceline negociated with the Montforts, and with certain household or immediate retainers of the French King. Thus supported, Asceline attacked William de Breteuil, took him prisoner, and kept him captive in his Castle of Breteuil.

William de Breteuil had only two children, both illegitimate—Eustace de Pascy, who attained the miserable distinction of becoming Beauclerc's son-in-law, by espousing the base-born but noble spirited Juliana; and a daughter, Isabel. Breteuil was rich in money and lands. Asceline, young and unmarried, converted the capture of his liege Lord into a matrimonial speculation. Two conditions did Asceline therefore insist upon as the price of Breteuil's liberation. Three thousand pounds of Dreux currency, and fair Isabel. William de Breteuil resisted these exactions stoutly; he would not part either with money or daughter. At first, no Jew of York, or Burgher of Rouen, could have stood out harder; and therefore Asceline was under the unpleasant necessity of treating the Baron as though he had been a Burgher or a Jew. During three months Breteuil was kept in duresse, ironed, chained, plagued, and starved, without yielding: till at length the livres

Asceline, by bad usage and torture, compels Breteuil to give him his daughter Isabel.

and the lady were extorted by an ingenious mode of torture. In the depth of winter, Asceline fastened his liege-lord to the grating at the bleak top of a tower, unclothed, save by a poor, thin shirt: he was thus exposed to the whistling, bitter, biting winds, whilst water was poured upon him abundantly and continually, till he was sheeted with ice. This anguish Breteuil could not resist: he consented to the terms proposed, paid the ransom, endowed Isabel in the Church porch, and gave her away. 1092–1096

§ 5. A relationship thus contracted was not likely to produce much affection,—and in the following year William de Breteuil, eager for revenge, renewed the warfare against his now son-in-law with increased anger and desperation. Asceline took possession of Ivry, as a portion of Isabel's dowry: his father-in-law, William de Breteuil, besieged the Castle, occupying an adjoining Monastery. Goel spared no ecclesiastical immunity; and set fire to the sacred edifice. Had not Breteuil saved himself by flight, he would have sustained a repetition of his former discipline. Renewal of hostilities between William de Breteuil and Asceline his son-in-law.

1095. May. Ivry besieged by Breteuil.

Affront thus heaped upon affront, Breteuil sought to support himself by the assistance of King Philip and Duke Robert. He bought their services. It is a great breach in the theoretical system of feudality, thus to find Sovereigns receiving pay from a vassal (for Breteuil was the vassal both of France and Normandy), for the purpose

1092—1096

of fighting his battles. This petty warfare also includes an incident of exceeding importance in French constitutional History, the first appearance of the Communal militia. Hitherto, as it is supposed, the Baronage had been the sole leaders of the King's forces; but during the siege of Brcherval, the tiers-état appeared, the ancient Herr-bann of the Carlovingian age revived. Marshalled under the Communal banners, the authority of commanding the troops raised from the towns, was transferred to the towns themselves: a small beginning, but which under Louis le Gros effected a complete alteration in the military system which had hitherto prevailed.

Belesme's further operations: he takes Ivry and St. Cenery.

Far more powerful than King of France or Duke of Normandy, was Robert de Belesme Count of Alençon, who, considering Asceline Goel as a rival, bore him a virulent hatred, assisting the besiegers with all his power. The renowned engineer whom he had retained, constructed the ordnance needed for the attack. By his machines, stones and beams of enormous weight were cast into the fortress; and the description of the effect which these missiles produced, shews how deficient the Norman artillery had previously been. Ivry surrendered: Belesme, stimulated by success, pursued his enterprises, and attacked the often contested Castle of St. Cenery. This kindled another feud; for

Beauclerc, invited to assist Robert Giroie, who held the castle, engaged with great zeal in his defence. More calamities. Robert Giroie was expelled: brave Radegonda, who defended the castle of Giroie during her husband's absence, died of distress; and their child, who fell into Belesme's power, was removed by poison. This cowardly and detestable mode of assassination continued as prevalent as ever. Giroie, however, rallied again, and, making head against Belesme, began to build a new castle at Montaigu. Belesme now had recourse to Duke Robert, who assisted in assailing the threatening fortification; and the castle was attacked and razed. It is not needful to pursue the narrative of these perplexed and obscure transactions: but the incidents here noticed or selected, enable us to realize the state of the country, and to elucidate the tone of sentiment which prevailed. 1092—1096

§ 6. Robert, harassed by the quarrels in which he was engaged against his brother, nursed his anger for about two years, at the end of which term, the Christmas Feast, the joyful and holy anniversary, was again troubled by family enmity: no peace, no good will, amongst the Conqueror's sons. Rufus was celebrating the Festival, wearing his Crown at Gloucester, when a messenger—we must not commit the anachronism of calling him a Herald—entered the Hall, bearing Robert's defiance, 1093. Renewal of hostilities between Robert and Rufus. The former challenges his brother during the Christmas festival.

1092—1096 accusing the King of perjury and treachery, declaring that the compact between them was at an end. No particulars of the complaint appears to have been stated, but many plots and machinations against Robert were partially disclosed. Beauclerc had evidently gone over to Rufus, so also many of the Barons in the turbulent Alençon Marchland. Be this as it may, Rufus gladly took up the gauntlet and accepted the challenge. Flambard issued the writs; and the Great Council was summoned to meet at Hastings on Candlemas-day.

1094. February 2. Great Council at Hastings.

Much important business was transacted in this assembly, ecclesiastical, administrative, and military. It was during this Session that the memorable interview between Rufus and Anselm took place, when the Archbishop fruitlessly urged the King to aid in re-establishing ecclesiastical discipline. On Midlent Sunday, Rufus, the adverse winds which had detained him having subsided, took his unblest passage to Normandy: a meeting ensued between him and discontented Courthose. It came to nothing. A second conference took place in the Campus Martius: a singular denomination this, evidencing the mediæval tendency of looking to ancient Rome for words and thoughts and models, and more especially in all matters connected with policy or war. The proceedings, however, were judicial, and conducted strictly according to Teutonic traditions.

19 March. Rufus crosses to Normandy.

Meetings between the brothers.—The Conservators of the treaty declare Rufus in fault.

The Four-and-twenty Barons, the Twelve and Twelve, who upon their oaths had become sureties for the treaty, came forth and gave their verdict, throwing the whole blame upon the King. Rufus cared nothing for their judgment, and refused to abide by it.—He would neither retract nor amend, pay nor restore. 1092—1096

§ 7. The brothers separated, furious against each other. Courthose repaired to Rouen; Rufus returned to Eu, trusting in the well-paid alliance of Count William, who had such a strong pecuniary interest to continue useful. Moreover, the Count of Eu had many reasons to be a stanch Anglo-Norman Englishman, being married to the sister of Geoffrey Baynard, who had thoroughly settled himself in England, Geoffrey being Lord of the Soke (the modern ward) of Castle Baynard, in the heart of London. At Eu, then, Rufus raised his banner, conducting his military operations according to his usual fashion, bestowing and dispensing gifts, largesses, promises, money, lands, with profuse liberality.—He knew with whom he had to deal.—"Be it better, be it worse, be ruled by him who rules the purse," was the accepted motto of the Norman Baronage. Gournay, and Giffard, and Braiosa, and Evreux, and Toeny, adhered to their patron, and crowds of others, Barons, Donzels, Knights, Squires, Soldiers, all who wanted pay or favour, resorted to him. He was very successful amongst the Alençon

Rufus raises his standard at Eu, adopts energetic measures.

Rufus increases the number of partizans.

1092—1096 March-Lords. William Peverel, the Nottingham Peverel, who commanded the Castle of Houlme, was one of their chiefs.

William de Alderia and Walter Tyrrel.

Probably about this time there also entered into the King's service two individuals who enjoyed much of his confidence: William de Alderia, and Walter Tyrrel.—The first was remarkable for his handsome and delicate person: but we cannot distinctly make out his lineage. He is nowhere mentioned except in connexion with the history of Rufus.—The second was a descendant of Fulk, Seigneur of Guernaville, Dean of Evreux. This Dean Fulk affords a conspicuous example of a married dignitary. Disciple of the famous Fulbert of Chartres, possessing an ample military inheritance, he, half secular, half ecclesiastic, espoused the noble Lady Orielda, by whom he had ten children. Walter, who assumed the name of Tyrrel, was the youngest, and transmitted his name (as we judge) to the King's favourite and boon companion. Our Walter Tyrrel was Seigneur of the noble Barony (afterwards the Principality) of Poix in the Amiennois, not far from the Norman frontier, between Albemarle and Gournay. This vicinity would naturally connect Walter Tyrrel with the Norman Lords.

Two of Belesme's brethren, Roger de Poitou, as he was called, Seigneur of Argenteuil, and Arnold or Ernold, joined the King. Most important

however to him was a family re-union. The animosity between Henry and Rufus had rapidly mitigated into forbearance: it was profitable for both of them to help each other; and the forbearance speedily ripened into an alliance against Robert. Henry attached himself very closely to Rufus. Henceforward, so long as Rufus lived, he always appears subservient to his eldest brother, following him in all his ways, and, with few exceptions, always close at hand—Beauclerc had good reason to be watchful of public affairs. 1092—1096

§ 8. Amidst the general venality of the Norman Baronage, there was one whom no price could buy—Hélias de St. Sidoine. His Castle of Bures on the Dieppe or Arques river, was a great obstacle to the King's plans, cutting off the communication between Eu and the Giffard Barony. Rufus laid siege to Bures, the Castle surrendered; he had triumphed by arms; but the resistance to his money so provoked the King, that he adopted a very unusual measure: he transported a part of the garrison to England, where they were kept in close captivity. Helias de St. Sidoine, however, was not taken. Courthose invites the aid of Philip King of France, for the purpose of counteracting Rufus.

Robert again invited the dangerous aid of King Philip, who soon afterwards began to associate his young and active son Louis le Gros in the royal authority. The French troops were powerful, their commanders shewed unusual courage and spirit. Robert himself displayed a sudden

1092—1096 and transient burst of activity. He attacked the Castle of Houlme in or adjoining the Belesme territory, and compelled William Peverel and his large garrison to surrender. King Philip laid siege to Argenteuil. Another display of treachery or cowardice ensued: on the very day after he had invested the place, seven hundred Knights and fourteen hundred Squires yielded themselves up at discretion, a disgraceful act, exemplifying the want of honour and good faith amongst the peddling soldiery. But on this occasion the Argenteuil garrison made a bad bargain; Philip took them all to France, and extorted large ransoms from them for his own benefit and advantage.

Philip's successes.

Financial scheme adopted by Rufus and Flambard.

§ 9. Rufus now began to feel himself straitened and in difficulties. The successes of Philip were considerable. More power was needed to oppose the enemy, and that power consisted in money.—Finance is becoming the English talent.—The largesses required for the hire of the Norman Baronage had exhausted the Exchequer. Flambard continued most diligent: the sale of Church preferment proceeded vigorously; sees kept vacant, tenants racked, Bishops compelled to answer the heavy drafts upon their well-filled purses, sums of money carried away bodily from the Monasteries, as, for example, from Winchester, and the geld exacted to the last penny. A new device was therefore adopted. Under the

Anglo-Saxon constitution, the Crown possessed very extensive powers of calling out the Fyrd, that general armament of the people which comprehended every rank, under various obligations and penalties, all heavy. These levies were summoned by the King, according to his uncontrolled judgment and prerogative. He imperatively decided when military service was required. The expenses of the Host were charged upon the land. The Shires and Burghs virtually assessed themselves, according to their ancient and immemorial customs, recognized and established by Domesday. The contributions and rates were unequal, as well as the mode of apportionment. When not affected by any special usage, the liability was regulated by the common law. The soldiers were victualled at the expense of the Shire or Burgh for a certain term, usually two months; but the money was impounded, paid to the soldier, and not to the King. This is stated very distinctly in Domesday as being an important right, and gave a considerable degree of independence.

1092—1096

Royal prerogative of enforcing military levies.

By the King's command, the Justiciars issued the writs for the levy. The troops were specially summoned for the King's army in Normandy. Twenty thousand English soldiers assembled at Hastings, each of whom had received the money for the payment of his expenses during the expedition. It was always doubtful whether,

1092—1096 at any time, the Sovereign's prerogative, unless aided by a special enactment, could compel an Englishman to perform military service out of the British islands.—"Sir Earl, you shall either go, or hang," quoth King Edward to the Earl Marshal.—"Sir King, I will neither go nor hang," was the reply. The Earl Marshal neither went nor hanged, and the result was a confirmation of the Charters by the King, and liberal grants by the people: nor was any foreign expedition afterwards entertained without Parliamentary concurrence, Monarch and Subject yielding to that principle of compromise which has produced the Constitution, a trial of strength, not carried to the utmost.

The want of Royal authority might be compensated by the subject's good will, and, as we have before observed when relating the Conqueror's last fatal campaign, the English had no objection to co-operate with their Sovereign in fighting against a French enemy. But Rufus and Flambard did not put them to the test. Instead of requiring the troops to embark, Flambard offered to release the actual service, provided each man would pay ten shillings to the King out of the County allowance. Flambard thus raised at once, and without trouble, delay, or deduction, the sum of ten thousand pounds; and the soldiers returned to their homes, most of them with a surplus of pocket-money. The transaction

Flambard excuses actual service in consideration of payment made by the soldiers to the Crown of a portion of their equipment money.

was equally advantageous to both parties. The Sovereign obtained his supplies: the subject was excused an onerous duty. Thus we arrive at another incipient stage of the English Constitution, the commencement of the Commutations for military service afterwards termed Scutages; and also of the extraordinary aids, in the first instance obtained before the King's Commissioners in the several Shires, and ultimately by the assembled representatives of the Shires.—For the purpose of granting a subsidy, the soldiers at Hastings were the Commons House of Parliament. 1092—1096

§ 10. No troops therefore crossed from Hastings to Normandy: none indeed were needed: the general muster had answered its purpose far better, by its disbandment on English land. Affairs improved in Normandy for Rufus. Beauclerc co-operated cordially: the defection amongst Robert's Baronage encreased. Philip's army melted away before the walls of Longueville-Giffard, though not an arrow was shot; and a judicious dole out of the ten thousand pounds may be easily understood to have effected these results. Rufus was left at liberty to return to England, where dangers again threatened his authority. Duncan, the English liege-man, was expelled; the Anglo-Norman interest suffering. The Cymri united in a well-planned and desperate insurrection: North Wales, West Wales, South

1094. December. Rufus compelled to return to England.

1092—1096 Wales, all co-operating, had nearly cleared the country of the French invaders; a delusive success, for the toils were tightening round them; but, nevertheless, the rising became alarming to the Norman power.

The year was declining,—winter coming fast on—severe weather—a bad season for warfare; but Rufus enjoyed any danger which gave diversion for his restless activity; he delighted in change of place, and for any reason; though his energy occasionally failed strangely in actual peril, causing alternations of extreme excitement and gloom. He and Henry returned to England; his power was now so well consolidated in Normandy, that both could afford to be absent. Rufus raised and conducted a large army against the Welsh. His troops again suffered considerable losses in the mountains and forests; but the rebels were severely punished; for, after these heavy blows, they always sunk lower and lower in strength, though not in valour. Rufus then rushed over to Normandy, and returned as suddenly to England.—He must continue in England, or all will be lost.

1095. Renewal of the Odo conspiracy.

§ 11. The conspiracy always suspected, if not distinctly known, by Rufus, and now becoming ripe for execution, was a continuance of Bishop Odo's rebellion. The Baronage engaged in that enterprize succumbed to the King's power, but waited the opportunity for renewing the attempt;

Rufus, conscious of the subsistence of the adverse feeling, had been in like manner warily expecting the explosion. On the part of the Baronage, all the former instigations continued and increased: Rufus was more feared, more tyrannical, more loathsome. Whatever vices disgraced the Baronage, his, were such as to occasion universal detestation. The conspirators consisted mainly of the old connexion: all who had been engaged in the machinations of the two Norman Bishops, Odo of Bayeux and Godfrey of Coutances, and were yet alive and in England, joined in it.—The Earl of Shrewsbury, Robert of Montgomery, the Norman of the Normans the Conqueror of the Bretons, and his son Philip;—Roger de Lacy, unmindful of the benefits he had received from Rufus, who never earned any real gratitude;—William of Eu, so recently untrue to Robert Duke of Normandy, and now equally ready to violate the engagements he had contracted with William King of England;—Odo, Earl of Holdernesse, always honoured as Count of Champagne, the kinsman of the King;—Gilbert, son of Richard de Clare, grandfather of Ireland's bane and England's also, Richard Strongbow, and this great Baron Gilbert de Clare, sometimes called Gilbert de Tonbridge, increased his culpability by a simulated adhesion to Rufus;—Geoffrey Baynard, as we collect from subsequent transactions, connived with the conspirators;—William de Alderia,

1092—1096

Names of the conspirators, Robert Mowbray being the leader.

1092—1096 so lately received into royal favour also;—and, at the head, Robert Mowbray, the triumphant Earl of Northumberland.

There would seem to have been small reason for much exultation at a victory like that which Mowbray obtained by stratagem and treachery over Malcolm Canmore: nevertheless, it upset his ill-regulated mind, so overweening was the pride it had excited. He determined to dethrone Rufus. Morel, his counsellor and co-operator, assisted in organizing the plot; their object being an entire change of dynasty. The sons of the Conqueror were to be cleared away. Rufus they detested, Robert, effete and useless, they despised; Henry, versatile, ingenious, was supported by a strong English interest, and therefore to be dreaded as a King. Stephen, the son of the titular Count of Champagne, now in possession of the Earldom of Albemarle, was the individual whom they selected to be the founder of the new race, for though very noble by descent, and nearly connected with the royal family,—the grandchild of the Conqueror's half-sister,—he had only a nominal relationship with the house of Rollo. Stephen is well known by his pious foundations: for him, perhaps, no better commemoration is needed. He was very valiant, considerate, and prudent; qualities, entitling him to the perilous distinction of appearing as a competitor with Rufus, when there were so many

The conspirators propose a change of Dynasty, placing Stephen of Albemarle upon the throne.

others of the Richardites, as they were called, collateral branches of the old Ducal family, who might otherwise have been preferred. 1092–1096

§ 12. You sometimes lose sight of an object by looking upon it too intently. When men's minds are fixed upon the perpetration of great or perilous deeds, their anxious attention to the plot's minuter machinery renders them incapable of perceiving the probable results of particular actions, which any person, being a spectator, and not an actor, would judge to threaten entire failure. Common prudence might have taught Mowbray, at this juncture, to remain quiet, and avoid rousing the sleeping lion, abstaining from giving any plausible cause of offence to his vigilant, active, and implacable Sovereign, one who thoroughly appreciated the advantage of ruling through the Law, as well as in spite of the Law. Catastrophe of the plot brought on by Mowbray's imprudence.

This caution the Earl of Northumberland wantonly disregarded. He and his trusty helper, Morel, plundered certain Norwegian traders, who had peaceably resorted to a Northumbrian port. The *Rauber-Schloss*, so conspicuous in the regular modern romance of feudal times, never really reared its battlements in ancient England. The merchants besought the King for redress. Rufus, notwithstanding all his wild and half-insane irregularities and vices, fully comprehended the scope of his Sovereignty. Whether the merit belongs to Rufus or to Flambard, the judicial organization was well worked. The royal Norwegian Merchants plundered by Mowbray.

1092–1096 authority dilated itself more and more over the Anglo-Saxon realms, consolidating Mercia, and Wessex, and Northumbria, by uniformity of administration; and Rufus, supreme Conservator of the peace, summoned the delinquent Mowbray to make amends, or failing, to appear before the Great Council, and answer for his trespasses. At a subsequent period, this remedial prerogative continued to be exercised by the King's Council, from which the equitable jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery has emanated. Under the Edwards, the injured parties would have presented a petition, and if the culprits were out of reach, subjects, for example, of a foreign prince, who refused to do the Plaintiffs justice, letters of marque and reprisal would have issued against the other subjects of the offending State. If a natural-born subject was the wrong-doer, the proceedings would have been remitted to the King's Bench, the supreme criminal Court, or called before the Council.

They appeal to the the King as Conservator of the Peace.

§ 13. Mowbray was therefore summoned by writ to appear before the Great Council at Winchester. Could the Process-server dare to cross Bamborough drawbridge, or seek access to fierce Mowbray in Tynemouth tower?—Anyhow, the Earl of Northumbria made default. He did not condescend to come before the Court; he acted as an independent potentate. Rufus had now attained the object for which he had been so long preparing, a fair and plausible cause of

Mowbray refuses to appear before the Council.

1095. May 13. Mowbray summoned to the

hostility against the Earl. He issued a peremptory writ, summoning Mowbray to appear, like the other Baronage, at the ordinary Whitsun Council. Mowbray required pledges that he should be allowed to come and return freely. As a Baron, he was fully entitled to this protection, not so as an offender; therefore Rufus would not give any promise. Mowbray again made default: the Court was full, but no Earl of Northumberland there. Rufus, now having right upon his side, determined to punish this contumacy, not only against royal authority but against justice, by military execution. Assembling his forces, he marched against the Earl as one who had broken his allegiance. It is instructive to observe the forms of existing Institutions, loosely outlined in the obscure and remote Anglo-Norman period. Our practical jurisprudence still repeats the ancient language, a living commemoration of early doctrines and usages. In cases of resistance to the process of the Common-Law Courts, more particularly grounded upon Anglo-Saxon traditions, it is the Sheriff who raises the Posse-comitatus; but the last process against a contumacious defendant in the Court of Chancery, (a branch, so to speak, of the Anglo-Norman Great Council,) is a Commission of rebellion.

1092–1096 Whitsun Council—makes default,—Rufus proceeds against him as a rebel.

Analogy between ancient military exactness of royal process and the practice of the Court of Chancery.

§ 14. Earl Mowbray had fully prepared himself for the danger. Newcastle upon Tyne was occupied by the Royal troops, but the Earl

1095. August—November. Military operations

1092—1096 against Mowbray terminated by his capture.

had partisans amongst them, well affected to his cause. He established himself in Bamborough as his head-quarters: his wife, the energetic Matilda de Aquila, being sheltered with him; so also the indispensable Morel. Mowbray depended much upon Bamborough: the tall commanding dongeon, surrounded by a strong circuit of walls and towers so well defended by situation; on the land side, the approaches rendered difficult by the rugged ground and the wide-spread washes and marshes: and the sea offering the means of escape, should there be pressing need. Tynemouth was entrusted by the Earl to his brother, and his forces were dispersed over the country.

Gilbert de Clare warns Rufus against an ambush, and discloses the conspiracy.

Rufus advanced with full power of war, heading his troops. When close upon the confines of Northumberland, Gilbert de Clare rode up to the King, and anxiously called on him to stop.—Pardon, pardon, exclaimed Gilbert—pardon my guilt, profit by my warning—enter not that forest; thóse who are lurking there, have sworn your death. Gilbert de Clare proceeded to disclose all particulars: the names of the traitors, their plans. Rufus halted: ordered the Knights whom he could trust, to close around him: they skirted and protected him through the forest, and till they reached the open moors and wilds, and had escaped the danger.

Rufus pressed forward vigorously and steadily. The expedition, begun as a judicial pro-

ceeding, now became an implacable war. Rufus mastered many of the Earl's positions, making numerous prisoners. Then he attacked Tynemouth. The Castle held out for more than two months, when the garrison surrended at discretion. All the Knights captured by Rufus were condemned to dark duresse. 1092—1096

Tynemouth Castle and Bamborough blockaded by Rufus.

The King advanced along the coast to Bamborough; destitute of artillery, he found the fortress unassailable by strength, and therefore he determined to change the siege into a blockade.—I will give the Earl a bad neighbour, thought Rufus;—and he built a Blockhouse or Redoubt, calling the same *Malveisin;* a Bastilla, which, entirely commanding the access to the Castle, and keeping the garrison in great straits, fully vindicated its denomination. The Royal army contained many an accomplice of Mowbray: many who thought with him, many who would have fought for him,—and he attempted to excite their sympathy,—but they dared not move. Gilbert de Clare's whispers chilled their hearts. No one of the Earl's adherents could tell whether Rufus had not noted his name; to avert the King's suspicions, they served him the more diligently, bringing in victual, and urging the enforced labours by which the circumvallation was raised: whilst Rufus continued in the camp, until the disturbances in the West called him away.

1092—1096

Rufus called away by the Welsh insurrection.

Another formidable insurrection broke out in Wales:—Montgomery's Castle taken, the Anglo-Norman interest again in peril. Rufus had only a choice of difficulties: an undependable army, which might be seduced to join the Chieftain whom they were besieging, and the chance of a complete dislocation in the opposite side of the kingdom. The desperate and restless spirit of the King impelled him to the more active conflict: and, making hastily across the country to Wales, he dispersed the insurgents, who, retreating before the invaders, left their land again in the enemy's power.

Rufus being absent from Bamborough camp, vigilance subsided. Tacit good wishes also suggested connivance with the besieged. Mowbray, hitherto successfully defying his foes, had become heartily weary of his confinement. He established a communication with his adherents in the New Castle upon the Tyne, and they promised to admit him. Leaving Matilda and Morel in Bamborough, he stole out by night with thirty horsemen. Some of the King's men, however, were trusty: Mowbray was attacked, his small detachment gave way, and the enemy chased him into St. Oswyne's Priory, the sanctuary which his bounty had raised. But no ecclesiastical immunity could protect the State delinquent: the Monastery was besieged and stormed. Many of his companions in arms fell, all the rest were taken. Mowbray himself,

Mowbray attempts a sortie,—takes sanctuary in Tynemouth Priory,—captured.

wounded and bleeding, was dragged from the Church in which he vainly sought refuge. 1092—1096

Bamborough still held out, stubbornly defended by the Countess and by Morel. They could obtain a supply of provisions by sea: the siege was protracted also in consequence of the inefficiency of the Norman artillery; and when Rufus returned from the Welsh expedition, King Ida's Castle still defied the assailants. Force being unavailing, Rufus commanded that Mowbray should be led in chains before the walls of his Castle: proclamation was made, that, unless Matilda and Morel surrendered Bamborough, the King would pluck out Mowbray's eyes. Rufus was in right earnest, and when he threatened, he was wont to be worse than his word. Whether influenced by affection, or by the hopelessness of protracted resistance, Matilda yielded,—Bamborough surrendered to the King; and now Rufus might glut his vengeance. Much information concerning the conspiracy had been given by Gilbert de Clare. Morel, admitted into the King's Court, consummated his treacheries by disclosing all the ramifications of the plot; and through his clever, crafty dealing, the traitors, or those whom he accused as such, were delivered into the King's power. All thus denounced, Clergy and laity, were completely at the mercy of the Sovereign.

1095. Sept. and Oct.

Bamborough surrendered.

1092—1096

§ 15. A Great Council was summoned with unusual stringency, to meet at Sarum on the octave of the Epiphany; a woeful solemnity. Geoffrey Baynard appealed his brother-in-law, William Count of Eu, as a traitor. Mixed motives actuated the Appellant: the Challenger, or as we should now say, the Accomplice who turned King's evidence. To inform against a Brother-in-law might have seemed odious, but the means were now offered to Baynard of clearing himself from his crime, misprision of treason. William was unfaithful to his wife Helisenda, Baynard's sister: a large family by the Count's Concubine surrounded him. Geoffrey had been careless about his sister's affront: but he now assumed the attitude of virtuous indignation, and declared he would avenge the outrage. William de Eu was vanquished: the judgment of battle passed against him, and the son and heir of Robert de Eu, the Conqueror's chief counsellor, he who for the sake of Rufus, and the bribes of Rufus, had abandoned his nearer liege lord, being delivered into the hands of the executioner, was blinded, and expiated his complicated treacheries by other mutilations and pains, worse than mortal agony.

1096. Jan. 13. Great Council at Sarum.—Punishment of the offenders.

William de Eu blinded and mutilated.

William de Alderia hanged.

William de Alderia was hanged on the hill of Old Sarum, unavailingly protesting innocence as to any design of compassing the King's death; but, troubled in conscience, and heavily burthened

by other exceedingly grievous sins, he confessed them to Bishop Osmund, entreating, as the last boon, that, before he died, he might suffer an adequate penance. William de Alderia was scourged at the door of every church in and about the Castle and Burgh, then constituting the City. On his way to the place of execution, he distributed his garments to the poor, and kneeled again and again on the sharp flints and stones, so that his blood tracked his painful rugged path up to the gallows. 1092—1096

Odo of Champagne and Roger de Lacy banished.

Odo, the titular Count of Champagne, the Conqueror's nephew, was imprisoned; Roger de Lacy banished, and his lands bestowed upon his brother. Hugh de Montgomery, the Norman of the Normans, disgraced, and heavily fined: he had to pay three thousand pounds, and never held up his head again. Some say he was shorn as a monk in his own Abbey of Shrewsbury: others, that, at last, the Welsh were able to avenge themselves upon their implacable enemy; but of this more hereafter.

The end of Hugh de Montgomery.

The end of Robert Mowbray.

Roger de Mowbray, Robert's heroic father, had fought by the Conqueror's side. Who had assisted him more valiantly and more loyally? but the recollection of these services availed nought for the son: perhaps they enhanced his guilt. Earl Mowbray was let down into the pit of Windsor Castle, in which his robust constitution encreased his punishment, by giving him

1092—1096 strength to linger during thirty-four wretched years, before he was removed from this living grave to the sepulchre. Matilda de Aquila did not sorrow very long for her husband. According to a principle of jurisprudence still prevailing in France, and adopted from the Roman law, perpetual imprisonment is equivalent to civil death: the Pope therefore declared the marriage dissolved. Another husband soon appeared, Nigel de Albini, the King's Bow-bearer, who, obtaining Earl Mowbray's lands and Earl Mowbray's wife, transmitted Earl Mowbray's name to his posterity. Nigel lived with Matilda so long as she could promote his interest; but when her brother, Gilbert de Aquila, died, even as she had divorced her first husband, so did the second divorce her. As she had done, so she was done by. Nigel kept the lands, but repudiated the lady. Matilda died in disgrace and poverty, and Nigel, by Henry Beauclerc's special introduction, married the great heiress, Gundreda the fair, daughter of Gerard de Gournay; and her son, Roger, assuming the name of Mowbray, though without a drop of Mowbray blood in his veins, became the founder of the new Mowbray family.

The end of Morel.

Morel, hated, contemned, and despised, died in exile, a miserable beggar. Some of the conspirators were admitted to make their peace, that is to say, they purchased pardon by large pecuniary payments. The royal authority was en-

creased and consolidated; and although Rufus was more and more abhorred, no further open manifestation of discontent appeared. Relieved from apprehension, he encreased in audacity: his good fortune apparently returned.—Before the year closed, Normandy fell into his power, and he entered upon a new career of regal magnificence. 1092—1096

CHAPTER IX.

THE COUNCIL OF CLERMONT.

1095—1096.

1095—1096

Intensity of celestial phenomena in the eleventh century.

§ 1. THE meteoric and cosmical phænomena, which, commencing with the decline of the Roman Empire, encreased in the later ages, seem now to have attained the greatest intensity. Comets successively appeared of singular forms and wonderful splendour. Blazing swords and fiery dragons, as they were fancifully described, rapidly swept along the heavenly arch. From Britain to Syria, the sky repeatedly burned with blood-red glow, interspersed with flickering shafts, pourtraying armies battling in the air. The Aurora, so long intermitted, and whose reappearance, when the lucid rays came as a novelty before Newton and Halley offers a singular and unsolved problem, then coruscated across the welkin, dismaying the multitudes.

1095. 4 April. The great asteroidal stream; recorded as the prognostication of the Crusade.

But amongst these portents, most awful and strange was the magnificent spectacle witnessed throughout Europe on the Wednesday night of the feast of St. Ambrose, in the year when "Easter fell in our Lady's lap:" that contingency deemed—had no other token occurred—to forebode evil. Streams of astral showers covered the aerial realms, thick as snow-flakes

floating and whirling in the storm, or the pouring hail, or as if the stars were dispersed and driven like chaff in the furious wind; evidently the current of asteroids now again periodically intersecting our sphere, and watched or sought from the Observatory, furnishing captivating speculations to the philosopher; but if we come closely to argument, marvels inexplicable by the reason of mankind. The Astrologer Bishop then also stood upon Lisieux tower, and declared, that in the celestial signs he beheld the symbol of changes and going forth of the troubled nations. As such was the warning universally received and realized in the First Crusade. 1095—1096

So terrible and sublime was this display of the stars fighting in their courses, that the event has been commemorated by almost every contemporary Chronicler; and from their pages it passes into the annals of the world. The uniformity of the descriptions is very remarkable: the clear and definite aspect of the radiant torrent was unsusceptible of misrepresentation, and surpassed exaggeration: modern science could not describe the appearances more accurately; the Witnesses all concur in the main facts, though some furnish valuable additional details, telling of the heated aerolithes which fell and struck the smoking ground.

§ 2. Sore was the hunger in the lands.— All the qualities and accidents, all the motions, Famine and pestilence concurrent

1095—1096 changes, and developements of matter and organization, are at once natural and preternatural, if indeed there be any distinction (excepting that occasioned by our imperfect conceptions) between the laws imposed upon Creation, and the Will of Him in whom is the life and motion and being of all Creation. Viewing, however, these phenomena merely under their physical relations, they concurred most impressively with the disordered and distempered state of society, resulting from the visitations which Europe had sustained. A succession of inclement seasons, the blight and the cankerworm, droughts and floods, scorching winds, alternating with rigid cold, caused perennial famine throughout Christendom. Year after year, each scanty harvest had been exhausted before the seed-time of the Spring, the corn withered or swamped, the vine burnt by frost, the shrunk olive cut from the bough by the scathing blast. The food to which the people were driven was not the sustenance of life, but life's destruction: the meagre watery herb, the crude root, the corrupted carcase engendering painful and loathsome diseases, plague, pestilence. This distress extended through the most fertile regions. Towns and villages were entirely depopulated, crime and violence stimulated by ravening despair.

with the celestial phenomena.

In such contingencies we discover that human agency can never, in the strict sense of the

term, work any good. Man can but mitigate evil. The physician may be permitted to remedy disease, but medicine cannot give health: the husbandman's diligence tills the ground, but the plough cannot bestow fertility: the Legislature provides the store for the years of dearth, but the Statute cannot multiply the contents of the garner: the utmost which civilization can perform, is to relieve particular classes from want, by concentrating the misery upon other members of the body politic. During the mediæval period there were no exempt classes; misery struck all alike: all were bowed down before affliction. These sufferings stimulated a vague desire of change—anything for the better—any help. As is not uncommon, when epidemics prevail, visions haunted the popular mind. There was a strange fancy current, that Charlemagne was about to rise at Aix from the sepulchre into which he had descended, clad with his royal ornaments, the embroidered dalmatica, the golden crown, his good sword *Joyeuse* pendant from his baldric, his eburn horn by his side; and thus did they dream that the Emperor would conduct the nations to Palestine. 1095—1096

§ 3. Amidst the fragments of Europe's early history, the exploits and conquests of the Gaulish races give them vast pre-eminence; but the knowledge which we possess concerning the Plunderers of Delphi, the Founders of Milan, 1095. Nov. 18. Council of Clermont.

1095—1096 and the Destroyers of Rome, is not reflected back upon their own homes. Ten of such pages as you are now reading would contain all the facts and annals of Acquitania, the third part of the Gauls, from the going forth out of the Ark until the Merovingian accession, save as to the events recorded in the Commentaries of the Empire's founder. Ten of these lines would condense all that is known concerning the country of the Arverni: with the exception of the world-agitating conflict, which ended by transplanting to Nemetum, the site of Clermont, the population, removed from the waste and desert hill of Gergovia, still pointed out to the wayfarer as the Monument of Cæsar's victories. Well does the Auvergnat peasant know that the name of *Pont-du Chastel* points out where Cæsar built his bridge;—and where he planted his Eagle standard, on the summit now crowned with the Baronial tower. Henceforward, we possess scarcely any information concerning the vicissitudes and fortunes of unchronicled Arvernia, until we arrive at the period when her Prelates were enabled to contemplate the translation of the Roman dominion in the Gauls to the rising Frankish Monarchy; Clovis the Patrician, wearing the Consular robe, crowned and anointed as Sovereign of the Franks, co-inheritor of the Roman Empire.

Here, in a city much disconnected from the

ordinary affairs of the Gauls, Urban convened the Council, virtually accepted as the Diet of Western Christendom. Thirteen Archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five Bishops, and eighty croziered Abbots, composed the Legislative Senate, followed and surrounded by inferior members of the Hierarchy, Deans, Archdeacons, monks and priors, and the laity, Counts and Barons, Knights and soldiers, burghers and routers, and myriads of the meaner ranks, worried by the general wretchedness, excited, anxious, fevered, eagerly expecting some good from the result of the great assembly. The mosaic-covered Basilica of Ste. Marie du Port, then without the city-walls, received the Fathers of the Council; the Multitude expanded in encampment upon the surrounding plain. 1095—1096.

Reasons for selecting Clermont as the locality of the Council.

That Urban should have selected secluded Clermont for the assembly of the Council, has been explained by the supposition that Auvergne, still governed by its sturdy dynasty, possessed a more independent political existence than any other continental territory where a Pontiff could preside. The County of Clermont was at this era governed by William, descended from the ancient House of Toulouse. St. Peter's successor and the ecclesiastical magistracy of the Western Church were here free from the influence, direct or indirect, of King and Kaiser. This reason possessed weight; but there was another, less apparent, the marriage of Count William to a

1095—1096 Norman daughter of Sicily brought him close to an Individual who had the success of the great enterprise deeply at heart.

Moreover the geographical position of Auvergne, including the culminating points of the Gauls, afforded further inducement. No other station could have been found, which, within a moderate distance from Aquitaine and the Provincia Romana, was so easily attainable, whether from the Belgic and Gallo-Belgic territories on the North and North-East, or Normandy and Bretagne on the North and North-West. Urban's acute advisers well knew how much their strength would lie in that direction, and the difficulty of access was compensated by comparative proximity.

458—460. Volcanoes of Central France. Their eruptions described by contemporaries.

§ 4. Had there been any prepense design of exalting the multitudes' enthusiasm by strange and awful scenery, Clermont, of all transalpine localities, was most fitted for the end. Here may the Geologist investigate the memorials of the last known igneous display of volcanic energy in Europe, except the Mediterranean's burning mountains and Phlegræan fields. Somewhat more than six centuries and an half before the Council of Clermont, Central France had been subject to tremendous volcanic eruptions. From the mountains, perhaps upheaved at a more remote period, like the Mexican Jorullo, in the course of a single night, the explosive fires bursting forth, broke

down the cones which, ejected the incandescent showers, attended by continuous earthquakes during three years, shaking and shattering wall and tower. Thunders rolled through the deep recesses of the earth. 1095–1096

> Al rauco suon' della Tartarea tromba,
> Treman' le spaziose atre caverne,
> E l'aer cieco a quel' rumor' rimbomba.

Appalled by the concussions, the sounds, the conflagrations, even the beasts of the forest, driven from their haunts, sought refuge in the abodes of mankind. These convulsions are commemorated by the living witnesses, who literally dwelt amongst the heaps of ashes and scoria cast forth by the rending craters; not men of obscure station and humble authority, but individuals of exalted rank, Sidonius Apollinaris the Poet, Prefect, Patrician, Senator, Bishop; whose tomb is now seen near the freshest of the volcanic vestiges, and whose memory lives in the recollection of every peasant inhabiting Avitiacum, the Villa where he resided; and Alcimus Avitus, equally high in the Church, Bishop of Vienne, nephew of an Emperor, Counsellor and friend of Clovis. These do not record the events in the studied Chronicle, or in the technical nomenclature of science, or the decked amplification of poetry; but in the language of friendship and devotion. Briefly and emphatically they advert, in Letter and Homily, to transient calamities as the reason for lasting

Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont, flourished 430—488.

Alcimus Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, flourished 456—525.

1095—1096 gratitude and repentance, speaking not to strangers, who would need any elaborate explanation, nor preserving details to satisfy the curiosity of posterity, but seeking the comfort and edification of the friends and contemporaries whom they addressed, men who had fled from the suffocating streams and showers, heard the subterranean groans, felt the trembling ground, knelt before the same altar, joined in the same prayers—the people to whom every word of the Preacher realised in their minds the desolation which had passed away.

The Church commemorates these visitations, and our Anglican Liturgy is their subsisting and familiar record in each revolving year.—Instructed and profiting by the example of the Ninevites, Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, assembled his people in prayer and humiliation: to avert such evils, he instituted the solemn Litanies or Rogations on the three days immediately preceding the feast of the Ascension; which three days acquired distinctively the appellation of Rogation days, being then the only portion of the year set apart for such purposes of supplication. These Services, rendered so impressive by the calamities and portents which had suggested them, spread rapidly throughout the Gauls and England. In this Country they were continued by usage and tradition until the eighth century, when they were authoritatively adopted as a portion of our

Rogation days, instituted by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, in Commemoration of the eruptions.

749 Rogation days adopted in England.

national ritual, in whose rubrical Calendar they are now retained. 1095—1096

§ 5. Whether after this vast display any further manifestations of volcanic activity appeared, we cannot ascertain, Auvergne being almost wholly destitute of Chroniclers.—Some tokens, however, of the then comparatively recent energies existed during the Middle Ages. One Lake, at least, exhibited a power entirely analogous to the Iceland Geyser, which, teazed by casting in a stone, responds by exploding the steaming column. In this Lake, not far from the tomb of Sidonius, the substratum was still so fully impregnated with gas, that any similar disturbance was immediately followed by storms of gushing vapour, rushing mists, and raving sounds. State of Auvergne after the eruption.

The gathering multitudes assembled round the Church of Ste. Marie du Port, were encircled by the receding ranges of volcanic mountains, shaped like sepulchral mounds of Titans, each the Tumulus of an Enceladus, burnt, scorched, retaining in every crag and fragment the marks of fire, hard, sharp, rough, harsh as the slags cast forth from the iron furnace, their brown and orange tints contrasted by the vivid green of the interspersed vegetation, fresh and luxuriating, life springing amidst destruction. Towering above all, solitary amidst her companions, the cloud-compelling Puy du Dôme, so marvellously contrived, when the Deep fled before the Voice of Striking aspect of the extinct Volcanoes as seen from Clermont.

1095—1096 the rebuking thunder, to irrigate the teeming Limagne, attracting every passing cloud. No cloud can be wafted within the sphere of the peerless mountain's influence without being enforced to wrap her summit in gloom, whilst the condensed waters, absorbed by the porous mineral through which they are filtered, form the streams, thence meandering in the secret courses below, until they issue forth to feed the fertilizing springs, the rivers which run amongst the hills.

By far the greater number of the future Crusaders could never in their whole lives have previously contemplated the more awful beauties of nature: none such were furnished by rich Brabant and undulating Lorraine, stern heathy Bretagne, orchard-covered Normandy, the flowery meadows and corn-fields adorned by winding Seine, the spreading plains of Champagne;—nor was it possible that their imaginations should be otherwise than exalted by a spectacle testifying and recalling the covenants, catastrophes, and judgments revealed and recorded in Holy Writ, the abatement of the Flood from the face of the Earth, the destruction of the Cities of the plain; and Sinai veiled in descending darkness.

Characteristics of the Crusades.

§ 6. All the nations of Latin Europe contributed sooner or later their contingent to the Crusades, hence does the History of the Crusades become Catholic, concerning every nation in

Western Christendom. Her noblest lineages appear as Warriors of the Cross. The Latin Empire in the East, is her universal conquest and colony. Our sacred edifices are at once the monuments of the Crusades and their Museums. From the Holy Wars originated the Institutions, powerful in their very names, whose glorious but departing shadows hover around us, whose reminiscences adorn European society. The mysterious Templars; the bravery and courtesy of golden Malta; majestic Alcantara, Avis and Calatrava; the heraldic splendour of the Golden Fleece, and the brilliant Brotherhood of the courtly Garter, the first semblance of romantic chivalry legally established in living society, and the last whose banners have retained any vestige of Gothic grandeur. 1095—1069

Furthermore, how intimately do we feel the influence of the Crusades in literature and through literature. The character we ascribe to these "Holy Wars," mainly results from the traditions of poetry: hence the difficulty of disengaging their real elements, from the attributes which imagination has bestowed. We are spell-bound by the witchery of verse. The era of the Crusades has been designated as the heroic age of Western Christendom: a plausible yet most incorrect appellation. An heroic age can never be intercalated in the History of nations. Such an age may be found when a nation, unenlightened Chivalry.

1095—1096 by the Word of God, begins to assume a social existence: it must disappear as that nation advances. The Heroic attributes are the leaves enveloping the sprouting stem, which die when the stem grows and hardens. The History of an heroic age consists of recollections conveyed through the medium of poetical tradition, the myth being as much a reality as the facts which it encloses,—whereas, to us, the Crusaders have been unrealized by poetry reflected back upon the past. The Poets, whether in prose or rhyme, have raised an intoxicating incense-mist of sweet savour, wrapping the senses in delusion, concealing the frailties, the imperfections, nay, even the deformities of the mortals before whom it ascends. All exaltation of man—hard as the doctrine may seem,—tends towards idolatry, more seductive when rendered to the naturally admirable than to the naturally vile. It is not the graven image which alone constitutes the idol.

Chivalry, its origin ascribed to the Crusades.

§ 7. One hardly knows where to begin in developing and dispelling the unrealities. You contemplate the cross-legged effigy, grim in mailed armour—you call him a Crusader. Could the statue open its mouth and speak, the first thing the stone would say is—"No, Friend,—the bones which lie beneath me, belong not to a Crusader."—The notion that the attitude symbolizes the doughty deeds of the Holy Land is a thorough figment: an antiquarian conceit,

which has ripened into a vulgar error. Like many vulgar errors, it has a right worshipful parentage: the fancy derives from Camden, the venerable father of English archæology; and yet the opinion is not a whit the more true because it is sanctioned by his respectable name. 1095—1096

The ordinary incidents of Knightly biography in old England.

You may, if you choose, biographize the dead. Take the rubrics of the chapters composing his brief chronicle.—He inherits a small manor, liable to a statute staple, acknowledged to a Bristol merchant:—disputes with the Earl Marshal as to the amount of his tenure:—pleads in the Exchequer;—judgment given that he holds *per servitium unius Militis;*—stands out against taking his degree of Knighthood until the Barons issue a distringas;—haggles with the Lord Treasurer for the amount of his scutage;—still appears charged as a Crown debtor on the Great Roll after six screwed-out instalments:—serves for the Shire;—receives his five marks for his parliamentary wages, and will not bate a single penny to his constituents;—is put into the Commission as a Conservator of the Peace;—rides once in the jousts on Dunstable Downs,—for what prize we cannot tell,—the earliest guerdon which we ascertain from history to have been jousted for in England was a Bear, the Bear being given by a lady; it was a lady who gave the Bear, but the Bear was the Victor's meed, and not the lady's kiss, or the lady:—no more tournaments, for he got into trouble by them, being taken up by

1095—1096 the Sheriff for attending such a disorderly meeting :—is always at law, now Plaintiff in a *Mort dauncestre*, now Defendant in a *Novel disseisin :* —law costs money, so he jobs for a Ward in Chancery,—begs or buys a little Heiress from the King, having, he best knows how, got the good word of the Bishop who holds the Seals :— settles,—has sixteen children,—buries his worn-out wife,—becomes Tenant by the Courtesy of her lands;—and dies in his bed. Such is the outline of the life of many a knightly individual, recumbent upon his Tomb before us, with iron-hooded head, gauntleted hand, belt and faulchion, emblazoned shield, girded surcoat, and spurred heel.

Popular view of the Spirit of Chivalry.

Well—we give up the costume, though reluctantly; but we must make a greater sacrifice: we must surrender the ideas suggested by that mailed effigy, iron-hooded head, gauntleted hand, belt and faulchion, emblazoned shield, girded surcoat, and spurred heel; and, exonerating that Knight from any share of responsibility in the Holy Wars, advert to the favourite theory which derives the "Spirit of chivalry" from the Crusades.—Are we not told that "the Spirit of "Chivalry was the parent and offspring of the "Crusades?" again, that in "the accomplished "character of the Crusader, we discover all the "virtues of a perfect Knight, the true Spirit of "Chivalry, which inspired the generous senti-"ments and social offices of man?"—The Historian might reply in the words of a great

Teacher, whose voice already resounds in History —"I confess that if I were called upon to name "what Spirit of evil predominantly deserved the "name of Antichrist, I should name the Spirit of "Chivalry: the more detestable for the very guise "of the Archangel ruined, which has made it so "seductive to the most generous spirits—but to "me so hateful, because it is in direct opposition "to the impartial justice of the Gospel, and its "comprehensive feeling of equal brotherhood, "and because it so fostered a sense of honour "rather than a sense of duty." The illusions of the Desert, the perfumed gardens of Damascus, breathing their fragrance in the evening air, may justify the Poet's creation of Ismeno's enchantments and Armida's bowers; but never did Palestine exhibit the garland which clusters round the ideal Knight— 1095—1096 Arnold's views concerning Chivalry.

"O gran bontà dei cavalieri antichi,
Eran rivali, eran di fè diversi,
E si sentian degli aspri colpi iniqui,
Per tutta la persona anco dolersi;
E pur per selve oscure, e calli obliqui
Insieme van, senza sospetto aversi—"

piety, gentleness, honour, sincerity, courtesy, forbearance, and, love.

Take the huge folio of the *Gesta Dei per Francos*—search it boldly and honestly, turn over its fifteen hundred pages, examine their contents according to the rules of moral evidence, the praises the Writers bestow, and more than their praises, their blame; their commentaries upon The Poetic views of Chivalry, &c. fictitious.

1095—1096 deeds of cruelty, and more than their commentaries, their silence—and try how much you can extract which will justify any one of the general positions which the popular enthusiasts for Chivalry have maintained.

Truly, they will be satisfied with small things. —Gaston de Foix marched against Brescia with an army of twelve thousand men: the *Loyal Serviteur* describes his force as the Flower of French chivalry; amongst them, Bayard, the *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche;* who in the attack of the breach received a wound thought to be mortal. Brescia was taken by storm—the Venetians made a desperate but ineffectual resistance, and the people emulated the soldiers in fidelity and valour—the opulent City was therefore abandoned to pillage, and the Flower of chivalry, under the guidance of the gentil Gaston de Foix, indulged during seven days in pillage, lust, and slaughter. Nearly fifty thousand of the citizens perished. This was the boast of the French—no mercy shewn, even to woman or child. The *Generosity of Bayard* is the pattern-illustration of the pictorial history of chivalry. The *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* was taken to the house belonging to a noble family, whence the cowardly husband had fled to a monastery: his wife and two beautiful daughters left exposed to the enemy's brutality. When the soldiers who were bearing Bayard began to break open the door, the Lady came forth in terror. Bayard

The "Generosity of Bayard."

directed that a guard should be placed, and the mansion, now his hospital, preserved from pillage and violence. 1095—1096

During two months of Bayard's slow and painful recovery, he was tenderly nursed by the Lady and her Daughters—no care, no attention, which could alleviate the sufferings of the body or comfort the mind, were spared by them; and their characters displayed the utmost feminine tenderness and purity. According to the spirit of the times of "Francis the father of letters," the Damsels considered themselves as Bayard's prisoners, and more, entirely in his power. When the Chevalier was about to depart, the Mother offered him a purse of ducats as the young ladies' ransom; but, to her extreme surprise,—Bayard actually refused the money,—returning a part as their marriage portion, and directing the balance to be distributed in alms, for the relief of the Nuns whom the French had reduced to destitution. This act of generosity and nobility of conduct was amazingly above the average standard then prevailing; the praises which the "generosity" has earned from all Bayard's biographers sufficiently prove the fact; but how low must then that average standard of Chivalry have been!

Views of Papal authority in the spirit of the Middle Ages.

§ 8. We must now at length come into close contact with him who sounded the Trumpet which sent forth the first Crusade. All the events thereof, and indeed the whole succession of the

1095—1096 Holy Wars, all their consequences, aggregate about Pope Urban. The world has writhed under the pains which the Crusades engendered.

When considering the character of any supreme Pontiff during the mediæval period, we must act as foreigners use when they sojourn in a strange country. They treat the Sovereign's authority as an acknowledged fact, and do not question the legitimacy of his powers.—They must also enter into the feelings of his subjects, and understand the national principles of loyalty and obedience, not interpreting these principles and feelings by their own. There is no undue pride in the Turkish Peasant who stands erect and covered before the Padisha.

Certain historical peculiarities attend the Papal authority, which at first sight seem almost contradictory to the theory of Papal supremacy. Pontifical authority usually appears during the Middle Ages to increase in stringency and cogency when you recede from the Papal See: yet this phenomenon is in accordance to the nature of all Sovereignty, so far as the Magistrate depends upon moral influence. Moral strength grows with the enlargement of the orb through which it radiates. In the very centre, where the Sovereign walks and moves amongst you, you cannot disconnect the mere physical power arising out of his personal presence from his moral power; whereas, when the Ruler is removed from the cognizance of our senses, the

mere fact that he commands obedience, unheard, unseen, is a far greater testimony of his pre-eminence. An abstraction sometimes works more upon the imagination than a substance. The Autocrat who horsewhips his Generals on the Parade of Czarskozelo is dreaded as a mad ruffian. In Kamschatka, where all heads are uncovered at the reading of the Ukase, he is a Divinity. It is at Rome that the Pope commanded least veneration. Besides the political antagonism between the Popes and the Roman people, there subsisted constantly the cheapening of Papal authority arising from familiarity. Come what will, small things make up the lives of the greatest men. In the days even of Sixtus Quintus, when the Strappado and the Wooden Horse, and the Gallows, were the monuments which, instead of Obelisk and Dioscuri, adorned the Quirinal, and the Bargello was introduced every morning to receive orders, Conclave and Padre Santo were gossipped about, much as London citizens treat Aldermen and Lord Mayor. 1095—1096

Freedom of speech concerning the Popes.

Neither must we be scandalized at the extreme freedom of speech concerning the Supreme Pontiffs which all parties employed, whether Kings or Priests, Abbots or Monks, Statesmen or Chroniclers. The corruptions of the Papal Court, the Papal vices, errors, injustices, connivances, equivocations, are told, not merely with candour, but even with want of it—unfairly, uncharitably. When you are in the heart of the mediæval period,

1095—1096 you hardly ever find an apology for a Pope, or any justification of Papal misconduct: the story is told plain out, and by bitter tongues.

In modern times, Profligate Leo, Borgia the Poisoner, Ganganelli the Philosopher, Giuliano della Rovere the Thunderer, have all been made the objects not merely of palliation but of praise; it was otherwise in the times with which we are now concerned. Even in addressing the Pope, the Clergy are rough, coarse, and almost abusive. Peter Damien and St. Bernard rate and scold at Pope Gregory and Pope Eugene almost in the style of a pseudonymous newspaper correspondent, attacking a Prime Minister. The cause of this conduct, apparently so irreconcileable with the respect due (according to their opinions) to the transcendant station of the Supreme Pontiff, arose, in one way, from the firmness of their faith. They spoke of the Priesthood in the same way as the Scriptures speak of Eli and his sons, not unfrequently quoting the very text and examples. An indefeasible commission is not impaired by the unworthiness of the Servant to whom the authority is imparted. Believing (as they did) that the Papal throne stood upon the Rock, it never entered their heads to think that the strength of the Rock was compromised by the frailty of the mortal who filled the Chair.

Mediæval views of Sacerdotal Authority.

This would not be the place, nor would it be our province, to discuss how the inconceivable

dogma of Papal infallibility arose. One thing is certain, that it never has been adopted *de facto* in any practical sense, excepting according to the universal principle, that the decision of a competent tribunal upon subjects within its jurisdiction, is valid until revoked by another competent authority. For the history of the Church is that of a succession of imperfect reforms: aspirations and shortcomings, the fall and the rise, Temptation from below, Weakness within, Help from Above; each renewal of the Canon of a Council is a confession of negligence and laxity; each correction of an abuse, a confession of abuses; each reprehension of a transgression, an acknowledgment of sins. As the Churches of Jerusalem, and Alexandria, and Antioch, and Rome have erred, so does and will every Church; until all shall be gathered under One Shepherd, in One fold. 1095—1096

Thanks therefore to this mediæval bold speaking and free-thinking, we possess the fullest evidence concerning the Holy Wars; and the most learned and pious members of the Roman Obedience are compelled to lament that Urban, instigating the Crusades, committed a most grievous error. He yielded to the seductions of the Lying Spirit, he was led by a Temptation which he did not seek to resist. He pressed more Thorns into the side of the Church, from which universal Christendom still continues wounded and languishing. The Holy War be- Urban's grievous error in sanctioning the Crusade.

1095—1096 came his act, because, though adopted and sanctioned by the Council, he was the efficient organ, and upon his head the responsibility must rest.

Urban and his advisers at Clermont.

§ 9. We are not informed whether any of the Sacred College accompanied Urban to Clermont, but we contemplate him there, standing upon the elevated Podium supported by two Friends and Counsellors.—On his right, appears a cowled Monk, or, if not a Monk, one who wears the grey-mantled habit of Religion, such as befits an anchorite, way-worn, care-worn, small in stature, but vigorous, active, nay, restless. Unsteady of eye, the smoothed pilgrim's staff in his thin sinewy hand, his tongue declares or betrays his country. The particular place of his nativity may be uncertain, but you cannot doubt that he comes somewhere from the North of the Gauls, from the Gallo-Belgic provinces, somewhere between Normandy and Flanders. This you learn from the Shibboleth of his speech, the sibilant exchanged for the soft chirping sound, a peculiarity of dialect best exemplified by a quotation from the terse and playful fable:

Peculiarity of the Picard dialect, illustrated from La Fontaine.

> "Et ce dicton *Picard* alentour fut écrit,
> *Biaux Chires Leups n'écoutez mie*
> *Mere tenchant chon fieu qui crie.*"

Eloquent,—not merely full of words, but full of matter, this Anchorite possesses all the professional trick and tact needful for working upon the feelings of a popular assembly. How the crowds shudder when he relates the horrors of

the persecutions sustained by the Pilgrims in the Holy Land: how they cheer, when the Hermit's sonorous voice exhorts them to the warlike mission: the multitude are carried away by him. Few have the resolution entirely to repudiate him, but there are very many to whom he is not quite satisfactory: they cannot quite trust either his motives or his judgment, they cannot dismiss a lurking doubt that the Orator may be acting a part; they cannot determine whether he be sincerely devout, a deluded enthusiast, a wild fanatic, or an artful speculator, seeking nothing but to promote the plans of others or his own. 1095—1096

Bad reputation of Hermits and Anchorites in the Middle Ages.

Nor does his Hermit's garb inspire confidence to these somewhat hard judges, but rather the contrary. He is arrayed in the uniform of a bad set: he may be a good man, but his Hermit's dress tells against him in the first instance. The lives of these recluses afforded sad proof of their general unworthiness. Not bound by vows, nor subjected to the authority of any Superior, Hermits were in great disrepute, scarcely redeemed by some bright examples of holiness found amongst them. A solitary life, not needing any previous probation, nor imposing any restraint, too often rendered the secluded cell equally the hidinghole and opportunity of sloth and depravity. A Recluse amongst the merry vintage peasantry of France, dancing under the shading elm, was exposed to far harder temptations than an Anchorite platting palm-baskets in the Thebaid

1095—1096 Desert; and it was even worse, when they chose to wander about the world. In the older times of the Church, the *Circumcelliones*, the Vagabond Monks, were reprobated as the pests of Society, and so were Hermits now.

Turn to the magnificent Soldier who stands at Urban's left hand: a cubit taller than any of his companions—and rendered even more remarkable by his beauty than his procerity. Byzantium still preserved many of the treasures of Hellenic art, trophies of Constantine's dubious piety: the works of Polycles and Phidias, which the poet praised and the cultivated admired, memorials of departed glory. The People who prided themselves in possessing these masterpieces of plastic talent, who delighted in the reminiscences of the age of Pericles, who listened to the eloquence of Demosthenes or the strains of Pindar's lyre, might describe this splendid Warrior's symmetrical form as exhibiting the results which the Greek chisel had sought to accomplish:—the abstract perfection of nature: an Adonis cast in the mould of a Hercules. Fair almost as a damsel, his delicacy diminished not his manly vigour—auburn hair flowing, but not unkempt and wild: deep blue eyes beaming courage: his countenance a union of sweetness and ferocity. The sweet smile of this tall warrior inspired more terror than other men's anger: even as the Pythian Apollo insulting Saint Paul's Epistle and Saint Peter's tomb, betrays that

hideous union of brightness and condemnation, 1095—1096
the Miltonic conception perhaps suggested by the very marble—the celestial countenance rendered infernal by the cruel brow, the scornful lip, the revengeful pride, the unsubdued rebellion.

Is it needful to mention the names of Urban's companions, his friends, counsellors, supporters, advisers? The one is Peter de Acheris, *Koukou Petros*, as the Greeks called him—Peter the Hermit. The other is Marco, or Bohemond, Robert Guiscard's first-born by his first wife and first love, the Normande Alberada, repudiated for the dark, stately, fierce-eyed Sichelgaita, Princess of Benevento, the alliance whereby he consolidated his usurped power:

"And shall," the Pontiff asks, "profaneness flow
From Nazareth—source of Christian piety,
From Bethlehem, from the mounts of Agony
And glorified Ascension? Warriors, go,
With prayers and blessings we your path will sow;
Like Moses, hold our hands erect, till ye
Have chased far off by righteous victory
These sons of Amalek, or laid them low!"

Who would not wish to participate in the enthusiasm of the Laureate strain? Who can,—after he shall have performed the dreary task of interrogating the witnesses by whom the tale of temptation, blood, and sorrow, is unfolded?

Chapter X.

Origin and intent of the Crusades.

1080—1456.

1080—1456

The real objects of the Crusades.

§ 1. The Laureate's Sonnet affords the ideal conception of the Crusade: his lines are the poetical version of Urban's words; but we must unravel and expound them. They were not all his own words, they resulted from his instigators. During the sitting of the Council as well as in the frequent Missionary journeys which Urban performed, whether repairing to Clermont, or afterwards, he delivered many allocutions and speeches, varied according to the capacities and feelings of those whom he addressed. Sometimes he urged the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre eloquently and pathetically. This was the religious motive. Closely approximating thereto were others, some so similar as to seem almost identical, yet not really germane: apparently homogeneous, though entirely uncombinable;—or if homogeneous, made entirely uncombinable by the soil which they had received, just as a tenuous film of breath, imperceptible to our senses, prevents the globules of mercury from coalescing, and keeps them asunder by an impe-

netrable barrier. They touch, all but,—but never run into one. 1080—1456

Urban urges an aggressive warfare against the Mahometans, ostensibly for the deliverance of the Christian races.

Exhorting and persuading the Chieftains and Leaders of Europe, Urban strengthened and wound up all arguments founded upon religion, by pleading for a cause plausibly politic, conciliating the charitable, speaking like Faith, honourable in aspect, agreeable to natural feelings, consonant with the Statesman's views, furthering the Warrior's ambition, promising wealth to the Merchant, gratification to the luxurious, pleasure to intellect, employment to the multitude; his reasonings being the more persuasive because whilst no one proposition, taken singly, could be resisted as palpably incompatible with the Christian character, the intent of their conjunction was irreconcileably adverse. Urban yielded to the destructive delusion that it is lawful for those who raise the banner of the Cross to combine voluntarily, actively, practically, and entirely, by their own choice and seeking, with the forces of the World. He was teaching the comfortable lessons that you may safely serve God and Mammon, that the Worshipper may bow the knee to Baal in the Courts of the Lord, that you may fight the good fight of Faith in alliance with God's enemies, and enter the road of righteousness through the paths of human policy, human artifice, human ambition, human revenge.

1080—1456 Unprovoked aggressive hostility against the Mahometans, was the duty which Pope Urban urged, justified by the relative positions of the Infidel and the Believer. The Saracens had yielded to a fiercer foe: the Turk was advancing towards the heart of the Western Empire. Was there any obligation more imperative than the liberation of those Christian races, already oppressed by the Miscreant, and the protection of the remainder against Mahometan tyranny? —"What have the Unbelievers not gained?" Urban continues: "Syria, Armenia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lydia, Caria, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycia, Cilicia, even to the very borders of the Hellespont.—Asia, one third part of the world, where the Faith was first planted, the Gospel first preached, where the Apostles died, is claimed by the heathen as their inheritance.—Egypt, Africa, once the most flourishing seat of Christianity, Libya and Pentapolis, numbering four hundred and sixty Bishoprics, Africa, now profaned by the Hagarene's presence: Africa, whose wrongs are the greatest humiliation which Christian honour has sustained: that country, the ancient nurse of genius, Augustine's Fatherland, where those bright intellects were fostered, whose works are the glories of Roman literature, the delights of the Learned, the instructors of the Divine."

Urban's address.

And here let us pause; and, looking downwards through the ghastly perspective of the Cru-

sades, we shall find that the first, though most incongruous motive, the professed service of Religion, brightening for a moment in the Tent of St. Louis, gradually wanes away. Faith is invoked to round a sentence or aid an argument; but Christianity no longer imparted any vitality.—A second motive, found in the emigration impulse, arising from famine, distress, and destitution, wore itself out as the visitations were removed.—A third motive continued with encreased energy. 1080—1456

The deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre was a phrase, true in the minds of some, though even then, strangely mixed with right and wrong;— but the permanent and invariable stimulus of the movement, was the anticipated partition of the Greek Empire. This Conquest was the final cause of the first Crusade. Though the formal execution of the plan may not have been settled, the design was fully contemplated by the Crusaders. They were consistent in the beginning, consistent to the end. Sufficiently was the real object disclosed, when the pilgrims began to pull the beards of the Greeks, to strip the lead off the Churches, and burn the Palaces, until we arrive at the great result, when the Twelve Electors, representing the French and Venetian conquerors, after galloping over the smoking ruins, scarcely quenched by the blood of the inhabitants, held their Council in the Golden Palace of the Blachernæ, and meted out amongst themselves the

Partition of the Greek Empire anticipated by the Crusaders.

1080—1456

possessions and prerogatives which they had wrested from the Byzantine Throne.

The Crusades, the origin of the modern Colonial system.

§ 2. The Crusaders created our Modern Colonial System. The action has been continuous; the conflagration has spread through the World. Venice and Genoa, Dandolo and Doria kindled the enterprize of Cortez and Pizarro, Joam de Castro and Albuquerque; whilst these great Captains passed the flaming torch, to Bussy and to Clive.

Close analogy between the modern European conquests in Asia and those of the Crusaders.

Historical parallels, like biographical parallels, depend upon general conformities, never upon minute circumstances: nevertheless, in the system pursued by Crusading Europe against Greek and Moslem, there are the closest approximations to our own age of civilization. The Jerusalem of Goffredo and his pitiable successors;—the Constantinople of Hainault and Courtenay;—Walter of Brienne's Duchy of Athens, the Cyprus of the Lusignans and Catharine Cornaro,—The Conquering Merchants, ruling amongst and over the trembling nations upon whose territories they are implanted;—Galata and Caffa;—Genoa's fortified Factories extending along the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, the dependencies of the Bank of St. George, that presence-chamber of the Ligurian City of palaces,—what are they but the similitudes of Ormuz and Aden; Cochin and Malabar; Calicut and Cranganore; Calcutta and Travancore; Goa and Madras; Tangiers and Algeria; Canton,

Hong Kong, Macao and Batavia; Labuan, Sarawak and Borneo? 1080—1456

Wherever a European flag has floated in Asia, Africa, or the New World, whether the waving folds displayed or display the emblazoned Lions and Towers of now imbecile Spain, the Quinas of now degraded Portugal, the Orange-woven stripes of now humbled Holland, the Tricolor of now distracted France, all once triumphant,—or the Union Standard of our still triumphant Empire,—may the impending Nemesis be averted—there do we behold the developement of the irresistible spirit of domination, the unconquerable energy, the power of ascendancy which the Crusades have imparted to the Civilized Common-wealth.

§ 3. The Venetian Patrician, Marino Sanuto the Elder, who flourished in the reign of our third Edward, is the faithful Interpreter of the Crusades. His ancestor, Marco Sanuto, having, like Dandolo, Ghisi, Zustinian, and so many others of the Adriatic aristocracy, struck off from the fourth Crusade, conquered for himself the islands of Naxos, Paros, Antiparos, Melos, and indeed the greater number of the Cyclades and the Sporades—hence assuming a new and proud style and title—the Duke of the Archipelago. Marco then made war against his own countrymen, and occupying Candia, was saluted King of that island. 1300—1330

The great scheme for a commercial and military crusade, suggested by Marino Sanuto.

1080—1456
1300—1330

Candia reverted to the Parent State, but the Islands of the Archipelago were retained by the Sanuto family. They encreased their dignity, and were conspicuous for their acquirements and capacity. Our Marino Sanuto, who dates from the Rialto, travelled far and wide. Five times had he crossed the seas, not a hasty voyager, but a wise, judicious, and working traveller, exploring the Levant, as well as the regions of the North. Labour enters into the value of all intellectual acquirements. Those old wayfarers, troubling and learning, learnt their lessons by study; they were compelled to think upon the text of the World's volume, as they construed each line and paragraph; we flutter over its Hand-book-pages. Marino Sanuto had counted his Florins over the Banco of the Frescobaldi in Flanders, lodged in the Fondaco at Smyrna, dealt with turbaned Turk in the bazaar at Cairo, and had even ranged amongst the fur-clad German and Sclavonian population of the Baltic shores. Marino combined study, research, speculation, and observation: he was a thorough master of history, ancient and modern, sacred and profane. For his age, an excellent geographer, the pattern and instructor of his namesake and relation, the celebrated Marino Sanuto the Younger. The Senior Sanuto was in all respects an ingenious and clever man, full of varied contrivances and accomplishments: he invented a

new species of musical instrument called the 1080—1456
Torzello, which supplanted the old-fashioned
Rigabello.—Above all, Marino Sanuto possessed 1300—1330
the crowning talent of talents, the power of bringing all his knowledge and information to bear upon any subject for which they were required.

Outline of Sanuto's scheme.

The project to which Sanuto devoted all the energies of a long and active life, was a gigantic scheme of mercantile colonization, a grand enterprize—the promotion of trade by means of war, pursued under the sanction of religion. The plan is fully and methodically developed in his elaborate work, entitled "*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*," containing three Books, subdivided into twenty Parts, and two hundred and thirty-seven Chapters. An analysis is prefixed by the Author, giving a full descriptive title of each Book,—the point or question discussed in each Part, and the substance of each Chapter. Four Maps were annexed:—I. the World (Jerusalem being of course in the centre),—II. the Mediterranean, and adjoining seas,—III. Egypt,—IV. the Holy Land; and Marino has also added an Appendix of correspondence and official documents. The scope of the entire production may be summed up by the received formula employed for all similar or analogous expeditions or speculations at the present day—"the extension of legitimate commerce, "developement of material resources—diffusion of "civilization,—propagation of Christianity." The

1080—1456 Prospectus issued by Marino Sanuto could not be despised or neglected as having been concocted
1300—1330 by a mere Visionary: any such jeers received a sufficient answer in the prosperity of his then flourishing kinsmen, the Dukes of the Archipelago.

Sanuto's commercial and political objects.

There are two sets of propositions in Sanuto's scheme, which, so to speak, are dovetailed into each other, and compose the whole: the political and the commercial. From both, he labours most ably to shew how enormously the European powers would profit in all their national interests by a vast Oriental colonization. One very important, though incidental advantage, is the diminution of war within Europe: he points out, as a warning example, the great injury occasioned to France and England by the wars in Tuscany and Lombardy, which occasioned a stoppage in their trade. Activity is the main characteristic of Sanuto's mind: the proper epithet, he says, of the "*Negotians*," is "*negans otium*,"—hence his admiration of trade. The family of Sanuto stands high amongst the highest in the Libro d'Oro, but Marino is thoroughly a merchant in heart and soul.

Territorial extent of the proposed colonizations. All the infidel or schismatic littoral of the Mediterranean.

§ 4. The territorial settlements which Sanuto contemplates, cover the whole Southern and Eastern coasts of the Mediterranean, together with the appurtenant inland territories. He invites the Latins to appropriate all dominions

held by Infidel or Schismatick, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Black Sea—Barbary, Egypt, Syria (the Holy Sepulchre noticed in a parenthesis), Armenia, Anatolia, and the whole of Asia Minor. The fragments of the Byzantine Empire are not mentioned in express terms, but they are, by implication, comprehended as an appendage. 1080—1456 / 1300—1330

Sanuto appeals very emphatically to the example of our wise and warlike Edward I., who, as he says, had planned to accomplish the acquisition, first of Egypt, next of the Holy Land, and lastly, of Constantinople. This design is unnoticed (unless our memory fails us) in the English historians; it is however probable that such projects, so tempting and not unreasonable, though frustrated, may have been entertained. The young Warrior fought in Palestine, emulating the Lion-hearted Richard, but when called to wear the uneasy Crown, the victories over Wallace and Llewellyn, the disobedience of his son,—Wales and Scotland, domestic troubles and sorrows, consumed his days, till he sunk into sleep at Burgh upon Solway Sands. Appeal made by Sanuto to a similar scheme, ascribed to Edward I.

§ 5. The prerogative object and intent however of the scheme is Commerce. It is his heart's desire that Europe should employ the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, in obtaining the whole mastery of the Indian trade. The main supply of goods and merchandise comes, as Marino says, chiefly from Malabar and Cambodia. Noticing the Commercial object of the proposed Crusade.—The Indian trade.

1080—1456 intermediate ports, he then tells us that the car-
goes are landed at Aden—a position of whose
1300—1330 importance he was fully sensible—and then conveyed to their marts by the ship of the desert, the Camel.

It is a disgrace, as the Venetian laments, that all our cotton, sugar, gold, silver, tin, saffron, mastick, silk, cubebs, spices, cloves, nutmeg, mace, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, dates, and the peerless flax of Egypt, so indispensable for manufactures, should be supplied to us only by the Miscreants, that the perfidious followers of Mahound should monopolize the profit which ought to belong to Christendom. On the other hand, Sanuto points out how dependent the Soldan and his Subjects are upon European supplies, no less important to them than Indian goods are to Christendom. In particular, Egypt neither produces wood, iron, nor pitch: the pitch which had so strongly impressed the imagination of Dante when he saw the cauldrons boiling in the Arsenal, indispensable for their navigation. Moreover the Soldan's revenue arises principally from his Import or Custom-house duties. Sanuto therefore proposes two concurrent measures of aggression—a general blockade of all the Saracen ports, including the Moorish dominions in Spain, though particularly directed against Egypt is the one measure.—The other suggested measure is maritime invasion, a Grand Armada.

Sanuto proposes a general blockade of all the Saracen territories in general, but particularly for the purpose of distressing Egypt.

The non-intercourse measure was not new. It had already been decreed by the European Commonwealth, and partially acted upon. After the loss of Acre, the General Council of Lateran had forbidden all dealings with the Infidels under penalty of excommunication. This paper blockade was wholly ineffective. The merchants, professing without doubt their entire respect for the principle, established large smuggling depôts, through which the trade was carried on, and the anathema was soon wholly disregarded. 1080—1456 1300—1330

To render the blockade under the Lateran Decree efficient, Sanuto proposes that it should be enforced by a fleet of cruizing galleys, supporting, or supported by, the authority of the Church: or as we usually say, by moral and religious influence. Sanuto in all respects anticipates the dealings of the modern firm of Philanthropy and Gunpowder and Civilization. "We must suffocate the trade," says Sanuto: he therefore requires a total prohibition (by excommunication) of all commerce with Infidels, accompanied by various most stringent clauses—that the penalty should be incurred not merely by direct Traders, but by all who bought or sold any goods that came through or from the Infidel territories, or which might be presumed to come through or from the Infidel territories; so that the *onus probandi*, contrary to the ordinary rules of justice, should lie upon the persons accused—that every Sovereign Blockade to be enforced by religious censures.

1080—1456 or Ruler of any country, whose subjects might be guilty of the illicit trade, and also every citizen
1300—1330 of any community or republic of which another citizen might so trade, should be liable as principals. Supposing this legislation could have been carried out, it would have entirely answered its purpose. An individual under excommunication could not sue for any debts in the temporal Courts; and the lusty Merchant, who might have reconciled himself to his enforced absence from the Church, would sorely rue the ecclesiastical sentences when they prevented his obtaining a judgment against his debtor.

Marino Sanuto's plan of invasion.

The second book of Sanuto's work contains a development of the military and naval operations by which the blockade was to be accompanied. Sanuto shews, convincingly, that the only mode promising success is to assail the sea-bord of the Saracen States, and he refutes the arguments of those who preferred expeditions by land. The fleet, he proposes, shall be fitted out principally from the Venetian arsenal. He makes this proposition humbly, disclaiming any natural partiality, says nothing of his countrymen's valour, naval skill or power, but recommends their employment, because they are so trustworthy—"quia Veneta gens ita benè attendit id quod promittit, sicut aliqua gens de mundo."—The Army to be contributed by the other European powers. He enters into minute

and very able details as to arms, ordnance, equip- 1080—1456
ments, and the like: and enlarges intelligently 1300—1330
upon that important branch of military service in which the early Crusaders had so dreadfully failed, the Commissariat. And though the Armada, properly so called, is to be a Venetian outfit, still Sanuto depends much upon the co-operation of other maritime States, particularly from the ports of the Baltic and the North Sea. Sanuto meets various objections in such a manner, as to shew that they had really been raised by competent antagonists. You feel that the Promoter has debated and discussed his project, and in his own opinion, satisfactorily, and that he is not strengthening his case by victories over men of straw.

Sanuto's geographical and historical researches—general character of his work.

Sanuto's third Book is principally a recapitulation or summary of the History of Palestine, with practical commentaries. The geographical portion of the work is peculiarly valuable: his maps are wonderfully uncouth, and yet there is a moral truth in their distortions. Was there ever any map upon Mercator's projection which possibly displayed the proportions and positions of the Globe, except enlarged, diminished, united or separated, to suit the purposes of the Trader? No longer the Terraqueous Sphere in relation to the Universe, but flattened out for the counting-house desk, and planned to correspond with the Merchants' walks on the Royal Exchange.

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Marino Sanuto has arranged his matter with extraordinary skill. Facts, arguments, conclusions, all logically consequent—every part well thought over. Sanuto is entirely honest. He declares that his whole object is to promote the material advantages of Christendom by and through the Holy War. He brings forward devotional and pious motives forcibly, yet subsidiarily. They do not enter into the foundation of the edifice, nor are they even its pillars or buttresses. But nevertheless, though neither buttress nor pillar, they are on the outside; they catch the eye at first sight, they are decorations, giving a religious character. Marino employs the Emblems of Faith as prominent ornaments, in bold basso-relievo, and wisely. Inasmuch as the blockade by which he proposed to ruin the Mahometan Commerce, and to destroy the resources of the Soldan, could not be effected completely otherwise than by the authority of the Pope, it would have been highly impolitic in him, Sanuto, not to enlist the whole religious community in his cause. The *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* may be accounted an excellent commercial treatise. Sanuto's ideas sound as modern as the last blue book which has proceeded from a Committee of the House of Commons—how much cotton grows in Armenia, and how Cyprus may be improved into a sugar-island, to supply the whole consumption of Christendom.

Sanuto's clear disclosure of his objects.

§ 6. Sanuto was indefatigable in the attempts which he made for the purpose of carrying his great plan into execution. He stirred heaven and earth. He presented his *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* in the first instance to the Pope, John XXII., Jacques d'Euse of Cahors, in two volumes, handsomely bound, with the maps annexed. The Pope received the proposal very graciously, and referred the proposition to four Commissioners, Ponzio d'Asti, Vicar Apostolic in Armenia, Giacopo di Camerino, a missionary in Persia, Frate Matteo from Cyprus, and Frate Paolino, the Pope's Penitentiary. They reported favourably concerning the main propositions, excepting that they objected to the stringency and extent of the excommunications suggested by Sanuto for the prevention of the illicit trade; pointing out that in many cases the innocent would be involved with the guilty: also shewing an evident feeling that the authority of the Church would be impaired by such an unreasonable and wholesale exertion of her powers. May be, they discerned that Sanuto, the son of St. Mark, one who had breathed the *Raggione di Stato* from his birth, who had sucked it in with his mother's milk, was a thorough politician.—"Fire away, boys! we were Venetians before we were Christians."

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Sanuto's personal exertions.

Pope John XXII. refers the proposal to a Commission.

Sanuto pressed the proposal upon the principal Sovereigns, Prelates, and Powers of Christendom, both in person and by correspondence.

Sanuto's exertions and correspondence.

1080—1456 Besides the Epistle specially addressed to King
Philip of France, there are appended to his
1300—1330 Work twenty-two Letters and forms of Circulars which he employed. Sanuto professes to be entirely disinterested, and to have no private plan of his own. There is an earnest devotion of his powers to the cause, which leaves no doubt but that he believed himself truly sincere: at the same time one cannot help supposing that if the grand Armada had been raised, he would not have been disinclined to take the command. Had the expedition succeeded in any respect, Marino would probably not have been worse off than his kinsman Nicolo, the then reigning Duke of the Archipelago. Yet the great moral merit of Sanuto's work results from his entire openness. None could be deceived by Sanuto except those who chose to deceive themselves:—the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* are patent to all the world, military, statistic, economical and commercial, from beginning to end. Sanuto lived to be disappointed: the times were adverse, the Papal authority discredited, England and France occupied with other schemes, Italy troubled by her tyrants and her democracies; and the proposition dropped. Nevertheless, the great idea continued living. We may trace it expanding in the conquests of the Portuguese: the peculiar importance of Egypt, recollected from time to time by political theorists, engaged the atten-

tion of Leibnitz; and, through the German philosopher, Marino Sanuto was an adviser of Napoleon's enterprize. 1080—1456 / 1080—1095

Such then were the objects and the intent of the Crusades, to which must be added, both as the source and the incentive (for it is frequently most difficult to distinguish between the two), the disposition of Latin Europe with relation to Greek and Moslem: a disposition identical with the scornful hostility which the civilized European cherishes against the Oriental at the present day. As to the Greek, this feeling was partly of old inheritance. How had the Roman despised the *Græculus esuriens*, the starving minister to his wants and pleasures; and to this contemptuousness the stern Teuton had added his own insolent ferocity. Shall we dare to confess the truth in one humiliating phrase? Latin Europe viewed and treated the Greek, much in the same way as we envy, harass, insult, rob, slander, despoil and despise the "Celestial Empire." The Crusades envenomed the ancient Teutonic pride;—and the curse encreasing with the old age of the world, is falling heavier and heavier. They placed Schismatic Heretic and Infidel out of the verge of sympathy, out of the pale of humanity,—born only to be degraded, or devoured by the sword.—Pause before you condemn the Crusaders' religious bigotry. Bacon, the most sound of philosophers, the least edifying

1080—1456 of ethical reasoners, declared that the Turk was not entitled to the benefit of the law of nations. 1080—1095 —For "Schismatic" and "Infidel," read "imperfectly civilized" and "uncivilized,"—what are the Crusaders' principles but our own? The intolerance of fanaticism has expanded into that merciless Civilization which incarcerates the Ameer, violates the word of honour pledged to the Emir—and blandly pronounces, by a temperate Colonial Despatch, the doom which consigns the Savage to extinction.

Bohemond —origin of his name.

§ 7. We must now revert to the personal history of the splendid warrior placed by Urban's side, Marco or Bohemond, the main author and promoter of the Crusade:—we must trace him to his early infancy, and begin with a nursery tale.

The giant Bohemond.

"Once upon a time there was a Giant, and the Giant's name was Bohemond."—To what cycle of fiction Boemonte or Bohemond belonged, the Mythographer cannot tell. In vain do we seek any traces of Bohemond in Scandinavian saga or Nibelungen lay: no Paladin of Charlemagne was he, nor Knight of Arthur's round-table. We know not whether his adventures were tinged with the marvels of the East, or expanded from the droll home traditions of Semi-Pelasgic Apulia. Bohemond may have been a brother of Grandonio, the grim giant of Pistoia, whose portrait and mace adorn the venerable Palazzo Pretorio. We might pursue these speculations—the disser-

tations upon the Giant Bohemond might become no less voluminous than the disquisitions upon the Phœnician History of Ireland, like them, (and some other subjects, not of the antiquarian class,) they possess the property of indefinite extendibility, and exactly for the same reason—the total absence of materials: the Geste of Bohemond is wholly lost: not a line of it has been preserved. Nothing is known of the Giant Bohemond except Bohemond's name; but he was the subject of a popular lay, which the Jougleur who when pursuing his vocation followed Robert Guiscard's court, chanced to sing for the amusement of his jovial master. 1080—1456 / 1080—1095

The popular custom of giving *sobriquets*, such as "Courthose," and "Beauclerc," and "Wise-heart," or "Guiscard," common in the mediæval periods, was most inveterate amongst the Normans; indeed, we may say, that the usage was dictated by absolute necessity. Surnames were scarcely yet fixed, and the Norman practice of confining the choice of baptismal names to a very small nomenclature—so many Rogers, so many Roberts, so many Williams, so many Matildas in each family, rendered it convenient to have some household designation possessing more individuality. Not unfrequently these conversational epithets were multiplied; Guiscard was also called *Durand*, complimentary to his enduring fortitude or pertinacity. Norman sobriquets or by-names.

1080—1456
1080—1095

The merry Duke of Apulia amused himself by adopting the same practice with respect to his children. Roger his son and successor (the eldest by Sichelgaita,) obtained a nick-name, testifying his character; because, whilst Marco displayed a liberal spirit, and gave away his presents and toys, his next brother was close-fisted, and would not part with anything. Hence his father styled him *Bursa* or *Purse*, a thing which would hold whatever got into it: his daughter Mabilia he called *Courte Louve*. Neither of these denominations, thus arising facetiously, became of much importance. Far otherwise with that which the same sportive spirit bestowed upon Marco. Robert Guiscard was delighted with the Jougleur's story: the conception of the Giant hit his fancy, and as it should seem, was so descriptive of his fair-haired, bright-cheeked, active, sturdy Marco, then perhaps playing by his side, that he gave the name of Bohemond to the child.

Sobriquets given by Guiscard to his children:

to Marco, the name of Bohemond.

There is no country in which *sobriquets* have had such good fortune as in Italy, and thus it happened to Marco.—Bohemond he was called in his family, Bohemond in his country, Bohemond, wherever his fame extended. As Bohemond he lived, conquered, reigned and died, and transmitted the name of Bohemond to his posterity. Yet, had John Bunyan's homely apologue then been current, the name of "Master Byends"

would have suited Marco far better. Rarely has this false world known so crafty and subtle a Statesman as Bohemond, the more dangerous in his wiles, because his brilliant character included some real good qualities. Endowed with the influential gifts of Providence, a beautiful countenance, a commanding stature, a winning tongue, his talents enabled him to assume the specious semblance of many virtues, in addition to those he actually possessed. Bohemond was affectionate and true to father, wife, and children, pleasant, affable, and courteous: yet wrapt up in selfishness, possessed by insatiate ambition and almost diabolical cruelty, proud and faithless, but in spite of all these vices so seductive, as to command the admiration even of those who knew him to be a heartless deceiver.

1080—1456

1080—1095 Bohemond's character.

§ 8. With respect to Bohemond's companion, he who stands on the right side of Urban,—Peter the Hermit,—he is one of the many personages concerning whom we suppose we have a distinct idea, until we endeavour to analyze the evidence or information through which such idea has been obtained—then its distinctness fades away. The Hermit's historical portrait is made up of lights and shadows, without any definite outline. It produces an effect at a distance: when you come near, the tints lapse into vagueness and confusion. We have no certain knowledge about Peter the Hermit. Those who were his contem-

Peter the Hermit—his history:

1080—1456 poraries, nay his neighbours, were curiously per-
plexed, and contradict each other and themselves
1080—1095 when adverting to his earlier adventures and history.

supposed to be a retainer of the House of Boulogne.

As the missionary preacher of the Crusades, Peter is the most prominent character of his age; but he emerges from obscurity and returns to obscurity, having brought myriads of his followers to destruction. After the capture of Jerusalem he slunk back again to his own country, fell into disrepute with such men as Saint Bernard, and, influenced either by sloth, disappointment, remorse, or repentance, retreated to a Monastery, and relapsed into insignificance. Some say Peter was a Spaniard, whereas he certainly was a native of Amiens, or its vicinity, though his family probably came from Acheris, in the Diocese of Laon, no great distance from Amiens, though in a separate district. Certain noble families claim him as their ancestor, but cannot exactly make out their title. Probably he was of knightly rank, holding lands under Eustace aux Grenons, Count of Boulogne, Godfrey of Bouillon's father. Having followed his Lord in a feud against Robert the Frison, Peter was captured, released and married. His wife, whom some authorities call Anna, belonged to the very noble family of Roucy in Champagne. We shall have something more to say about the illustrious Seignory of Roucy hereafter. The Lady was past

her prime, and ugly, but he had a family by her. 1080—1456

1080—1095 Peter enters the service of Robert Guiscard.

Peter de Acheris, or Peter the Frenchman, as he was also called, may then faintly be discerned as a retainer of Robert Guiscard: he is stated to have rendered good service to the Norman Chieftain in Apulia and Greece, though probably not in a military capacity. Vigorous and active, his small stature, accompanied, as it should seem, by a deficiency of muscular strength, rendered him but a sorry soldier; nor, though fierce and blood-thirsty, did he possess much nerve or courage.

His wife died, and Peter de Acheris then glances before us as a Monk, professed at St. Rigaud in the County of Forez, bordering upon Auvergne—quits his Monastery, (an act *prima facie* disreputable, requiring explanations which are not given,) and becomes a Hermit, or calls himself so. Whether Peter really ever was in Holy Orders or not, is a matter of considerable doubt, and has been much discussed. Some say he was first a Hermit, before he turned Monk or Priest. However, he wore a Cowl, and hence was called Petrus Cucullatus, from which appellation his Greek name of *Koukou Petros* is supposed to have been corrupted.

Peter then took to being a pilgrim and a wanderer, travelling far and wide—"qua nescio intentione" are the very significant words of the

1080—1456 cautious Guibert, Abbot of Nogent. During these pilgrimages Peter went to Jerusalem, and (as he afterwards reported) had much communication with Simeon the Patriarch, who (as he alleged) gave him a letter addressed to the Pope, praying that exertions might be made for relief of the Oriental Christians, and the delivery of the Holy Land. On his return from Palestine, Peter landed at Bari in Apulia, a city included in Bohemond's Principality. Peter then found out Urban, embraced his cause, became closely attached to him and very useful, Urban being then, and for a long time afterwards, in great trouble from the Guibertines. Thus consorting with the Pope, he presented the letter received from the Patriarch, exhorting Urban to undertake the enterprize of liberating Jerusalem.—Here, for the present, we must leave Peter, who immediately began those predications by which he acquired such unhappy celebrity; urging the recovery of the Holy Land in Church and Market-place, by road-side and way-side, followed by encreasing multitudes, and encreasing with them in reputation of sanctity. They used to pluck the hairs off the dear man's mule, and keep them as relics.—Guibert, who tells this fact, very carefully disclaims vouching for Peter's holy character.

1080—1095 Peter visits the Holy Land—returns, landing in Bohemond's territories, and repairs to Urban.

§ 9. Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, wrested by the sons of Tancred de Hauteville from Greek, Lombard and Saracen, Robert Guiscard, always

Robert Guiscard's invasions of the Greek Empire—

reckoned the Head of the Family, now girded himself for prouder conquest, seeking the whole Byzantine Empire—the Norman aspired to ascend the throne of the Eastern Cæsars. Some pretence of right being needed, a Papal Bull was talked of, perhaps shewn, legitimating any acquisitions which the firm Ally of the Apostolic See might win from Schismatic or Infidel. Another claim was grounded upon a marriage formerly contemplated between Guiscard's daughter, whom historians call Helena, a name assumed in place of some barbarian Latin or Celtic appellation (for the Greeks were wont to identify all who came from the Gauls with the Celts of old), and Constantine the Porphyrogenitus, the only son of Michael Ducas, the dethroned Emperor. The espousals never took effect; but this most imperfect matrimonial contract was assumed by Guiscard as imparting some right over the Empire: a strange confusion of ideas, rendered still more inconsistent and inconclusive by the third ground of aggression, the restoration of Michael Ducas himself to the dominion usurped by the talented Comneni.

1080—1456

1080—1095 grounds of his pretensions.

The individual produced as Michael Ducas was one of those *Revenans* who haunt the world after the deposition or death of an unfortunate Prince, exciting a painful sympathy, even when that sympathy is crossed by doubt, uncertainty, delusion, nay by the presumption of deceit, per-

1080—1456 1080—1095 sonification, or imposture. The so-called Michael Ducas fell in battle, and therefore Guiscard was released from any necessity of fighting in his cause; but all these justifications were merely the conventional diplomatic ceremonials which the powerful employ, agreeably to custom, when bullying the weak. The Greeks had not given the slightest cause of offence to Guiscard, nevertheless Guiscard, affronted by the inward feeling that he had wronged the Greeks, never relaxed from his avowed endeavour to destroy the Eastern Empire.

Predictions and anticipations concerning Guiscard.

Many a prediction had been circulated respecting Guiscard, suggested by credulity, hope or fear, perhaps also by state-craft. Many an Astrologer had calculated Guiscard's horoscope, many a Seer foretold his victories. A courtly Diviner, a flattering Soothsayer, combining the oracular strain with phrases of adulation, had promised, apparently in Latin verse, that Guiscard should proceed, conquering all under the heavens, all as far as the ætherial regions, and not die until he should be nigh Jerusalem. It was currently believed that even the realm of Constantine would not satisfy Guiscard; rivalling Alexander, the report was spread that he contemplated winning the region of the Sun, the Monarchy of Cyrus, a Persian Empire. If he planned this long and very circuitous route to Jerusalem from Apulia, many a battle had he to fight before he could arrive there, many a city to win,

many a scorching valley to traverse; so that, accepting the prophecy, he might anticipate years of enterprize and glory. 1080—1456 / 1080—1095

Mighty was the armament gathered at Otranto: the Normans in Italy retained all the freshness of their own race, whilst they availed themselves of the advantages furnished by Southern climes. Their maritime skill enabled them to equip a powerful fleet. Adventurers still continued to join them from the countries of the Romance tongue, and Peter the "Frenchman" is mentioned with considerable emphasis, as having been most useful to the industrious Guiscard. The soldiers were armed in the strongest mail, counterbalancing the superior strategics and resources of the Greeks. Their weapons rendered them peculiarly formidable: the Arbalest, sending forth the heavy shaft, the destructive engine resulting from Teutonic ingenuity working under Roman instruction, which imparted to the Latin warriors a superiority over those of the East, almost equal to that which the employment of fire-arms bestows upon European power. Bohemond, Guiscard's eldest born, his father's pride, was always the favourite; the friend, as well as the efficacious, affectionate and trusty son. Yet Guiscard gave to Bohemond no part of those rich domains which he had hitherto won in Italy; and before the expedition sailed for Durazzo, the Duke of Apulia declared that Roger,

1081. Guiscard's first invasion of the Greek Empire.

Guiscard intends the Byzantine Empire for Bohemond.

1080—1456 the child of Sichelgaita, should inherit his Italian dignities. Policy without doubt dictated this
1080—1095 disposition;—for Bohemond, his Father anticipated a distinction more honourable, an Empire which his valour should acquire.

Macedonia, Epirus, and Thessaly, were overspread by the Norman warriors. They found in Alexis a worthy enemy: luxurious, but not effeminate, Alexis possessed the boldness and acuteness of an Italian Tyrant: like a Sforza or a Visconti, he conjoined the Æsopian attributes of the Fox and the Lion. The conflict was ably sustained by both parties; but the Norman Duke had foes both in the Emperor of the East and the Em-

Bohemond takes the command.

peror of the West. The affairs of Italy recalled him, and Bohemond was left to sustain the weight of the war. The young hero, vigilant, active, and wary as he was bold, advanced towards Byzantium: a defection amongst his troops weakened his power, and in the desperate

1084. Battle of Larissa.

battle of Larissa, the Greeks claimed the balanced conflict as a glorious victory. A second campaign, undertaken by Guiscard, occupied the greater portion of a year; but the Norman had to encounter new and well-disciplined opponents. The Venetians lent their galleys to the Emperor, and checked the invaders by their discipline. Towards the close of the season Guiscard withdrew, for the purpose of wintering in the Ionian islands. Strangely seized by disease, oppressed

by burning fever, he landed at Cephalonia, beneath a lofty promontory, and eagerly craved for fresh water to save his life. His people searched the coast and found none, but a countryman pointed out an opposite island. The name of the promontory, as it sounded, to the Normans, was Æther—"In that island," said the countryman, "there is a ruin called Jerusalem,"—probably an ancient monastery, magnified by the simple inhabitants into an ancient city,—"there you will find a cool and gushing spring." And Robert Guiscard knew that his hour was come.

1080—1456
1080—1095
1085. July 17. Death of Guiscard.

§ 10. Roger Bursa, supported by the influence of his clever and able mother, Sichelgaita, was immediately proclaimed Duke, in Apulia Calabria and Salerno. Bohemond demanded a share; he would not quietly submit to be entirely disinherited; he immediately repaired to Germany, seeking help from the Emperor Henry, who gave him none. Jordan, the Norman Prince of Capua, grandson of Anschetil Ducarrell, somewhat impatient of Duke Roger's supremacy, fomented the discontent. Many other Normans joined Bohemond, and he began an offensive warfare against his brother. A peace was negotiated by the intervention of their uncle Roger, Count of Sicily: Otranto, Gallipoli and Oria, were yielded as the price of pacification, together with Tarento, which became the Capital of Bohemond's Dominions; and another quarrel with Duke Roger was

Roger Bursa succeeds to the Dukedom of Apulia.

1086—8. Bohemond acquires the principality of Tarento, and plans the subjugation of the Byzantine Empire.

1080—1456 settled by the additional cession of Bari. The
1080—1095 Prince of Tarento desisted from any further hostility, and became friends with his brother. He had acquired a firm station—Tarento was the advanced post towards Greece; and Bohemond now bent all his intentions to the great conquest,—Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Constantinople, the Byzantine Empire.

The Normans, the supporters of the Popes against the Emperor.

§ 11. The Hautevilles exceedingly encreased their consequence in Italy, by preserving the balance of power against the Western Emperor. After some variations and controversies, Robert Guiscard had supported Hildebrand, the Magnanimous and holy Gregory; and during all conflicts adhered steadily to the legitimate successor of St. Peter. Hildebrand, in return, recognized the grants ascribed to his predecessors, which rendering the Dukes of Apulia the feudatories of the Roman See, united the Pontiff and the Vassal by the reciprocal duties of protection and allegiance. Immediately upon the nomination of the Antipope Guibert, Gregory sought the Italian Normans: Robert Guiscard gladly renewed the feudal bond. In the season of adversity, Hildebrand found hearty defenders in the Normans, and a safe refuge in their territories. His tomb at Salerno is a proud monument of the hospitality which they rendered to the Great Pontiff, the Hero,—if such a term could be properly applied to one above all earthly motives,—of Latin Christendom.

§ 12. Odo of Ostia was elevated to the Popedom at Terracina, under the protection of the two brothers Roger and Bohemond, who, however divided in other respects, always concurred in their friendship with him. Urban the Pontiff repaid the obligations incurred by Odo the Cardinal Bishop. From him Roger Bursa received the solemn investiture of the Apulian Dukedom, by delivery of the Banner; and he resided habitually in the Normandy of Italy. Four Councils of the Church held by Urban in the Norman dominions, testify the intimate connexion which subsisted between him and the Norman dynasty. Moreover, Urban revolutionised the Hierarchy by the introduction of Norman prelates; a measure equally augmentative to the Pontifical and Ducal authorities;—assisted in the foundations of Monasteries, or enlarged their privileges;—and, as at La Cava, we rarely find Urban otherwise than accompanied by Roger or by Bohemond.

1080—1456

1080—1095

1088. 12 March. Urban II. raised to the Popedom under the protection of the Hautevilles.

§ 13. Urban had not yet been able to obtain full or quiet possession of Rome. Churches and Monasteries were occupied by the rival combatants as strong posts of defence. The Guibertines garrisoned the Tower of Crescentius: Adrian's Sepulchre was the Dungeon Keep of the Eternal City. In possession of this most commanding position, the Guibertines always divided the authority of Urban in Rome, and frequently caused it to verge upon extinction. Conflicts

Urban II. supported in his authority by the Normans.

1080—1456 took place in the streets. Nay, whilst one party
1080—1095 gained the Nave and aisles of a Basilica, the others retained the apse and upper galleries of the desecrated sacred Edifice, and swarming in the arches and manning the tie-beams of the open roof, battered their enemies below. Urban's temporal power seemed to be only holding by a thread: had it not been for the assistance which the Normans rendered, it is more than probable that he would have been compelled to succumb. By these means, Bohemond earned, as he well deserved, the entire friendship and confidence of Urban.—Was there any wish of Bohemond's which Urban would not seek to gratify, any project to which he would not lend his aid?

Bohemond persuades Urban to assist him in his scheme of gaining the Byzantine Empire.

§ 14. The steadiness displayed by Bohemond in the pursuit of his design, even subsequently to the conquest of Jerusalem, may readily lead us to conclude that, as soon as his father died, he did not tarry in preparing for the acquisition of the long-threatened Byzantine Empire. But how was the Prince of Tarento to accomplish the great enterprize? Would his immediate kinsmen help him?—Certainly not by any personal exertions of their own. His brother Roger scarcely sustained the reputation of his ancestry; and Apulia and Calabria, and the Neapolitan Republic, that independent Commonwealth whose privileges subsisted in some degree

even under the Bourbon dynasty gave him occupation and anxiety. 1080—1456

Neither could Bohemond expect any efficient support from his Uncle, the Christian Emir, the Norman Basileus of Sicily. Count Roger, very bold and strenuous, rose above ambition or sunk below: a rare example of a contented and therefore a wise Conqueror. He had fought hard for dominion, wealth, pleasure, and he enjoyed his prize. He was delighting himself amongst the orange groves, the jasmine gardens, the sparkling fountains, won from the Arab, and he was founding that realm which differed from any other in Europe, if indeed Sicily could be called Europe, exhibiting to the Christian World the only transient example of national toleration. The Codes and Institutions of Byzantium there flourished under the Norman adventurer, who still permitted the Mullah to expound the Moslem law. The Sovereign assumed the garb of the Eastern Emperor; and the manners and customs of Bagdad and Cordova imparted splendour as well as enervating luxury to palace and throne.— It is therefore from another ally that Bohemond must seek the means which should consolidate his enterprize; and why not from Urban? The Guibertines kept him out of Rome—he was continuing a hard fight with Imperialist and Schismatic, and in this exigency an understanding seems to have arisen, subsequently 1080—1095

Character and ethos of the Normans in Sicily.

1080—1456 moulded into a definite compact, virtually to the following effect:—Bohemond, Prince of Tarento,
1080—1095 will assist the Pontiff to recover Constantine's donation; whilst the Pontiff, on his part, aids and co-operates with the Prince of Tarento in obtaining possession of that inheritance still in abeyance—the coveted Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, nay all the Byzantine Empire, splendid in decayed magnificence.

§ 15. Urban would sanction the war, but where were the warriors to wield the sword? Bohemond turned in expectation to his old Fatherland. He mentally looked across the whole breadth of Europe, contemplating the English Channel from the Mediterranean shore.

Intimate connexion subsisting between the Normans of Normandy, and the Normans of Sicily and Apulia.

The Normans of Normandy and the Normans of Apulia and Sicily continued to keep themselves in mutual friendly remembrance. They were proud of each other. Normandy abounded with traditions concerning the South.—The pleasant stories also of Robert le Diable, news comparatively of yesterday, rendered those scenes familiar. It was often told how he had mocked the Greeks and guerdoned the pilgrims.—The sweet figs and luscious grapes of Italy were described with zest.—Chroniclers recorded how Hastings and his companions had won the riches of Ligurian Luna, vainly defended by her resplendent walls; and some old crone might yet astound her auditors by repeating the ancestorial

legends, how much gold the old Northmen once brought home, and buried in their Dragon-watched sepulchres. 1080—1456 / 1080—1095

These were reminiscences; but far more attractive were the solid facts.—How had the small Barons and Vavassours of Normandy sped? What were they now? Dukes, Princes, Counts of Calabria, Apulia and Sicily, Tarento and Capua, Capitanata and Conversano.—You had only to cruize to the shores of the Mediterranean, draw your swords, pull your arbalests, discharge the winged iron-headed volée at the Natives, and make your fortune.

§ 16. Very significant also of this connexion between Italy and Neustria, are the monuments which still adorn both countries. Politically no less than kindly, had the Adventurers displayed in Normandy their prosperity and liberality. When Geoffrey Mowbray raised his Cathedral of Coutances, he owed much to the bounty the Hautevilles had bestowed—the spoils of Greek and Saracen assisted in rearing the capacious pile. Amongst the many theories propounded concerning the component elements and suggestive models destined to produce that style of architecture, exercising, perhaps more than any other, a moral and salutary influence upon the human mind, there is the greatest probability in the hypothesis which ascribes the first introduction of the Pointed Arch to the Builders who learned

Influence of the mutual connexion displayed in Architecture.

1080—1456 1080—1095 their lesson in the Mosques and Palaces of Palermo. Trinacria gives equal evidence of the converse, the ideas transmitted to Palermo from Caen or Rouen. Greek Mosaics may adorn the apse, and the Arab supplied the varied decorations; but they are united with the unmistakeable tokens of the Norman hand. "Billet-mouldings" and "Zigzag-mouldings," and "Dog's-tooth-mouldings," and "Chevron-mouldings" fret the arch, whilst Cuphic inscriptions, in bold and flowing characters, declare the praises of the Sicilian King.

Tramontane marriages of the Italian and Sicilian Normans.

§ 17. After the first settlement of the Italian and Sicilian Normans, there were no more great prizes for Adventurers; but from time to time, many individuals continued dropping in, particularly those who were attracted by their connexion with the reigning family. It will be recollected that the Normans, half in joke, half in earnest, used to pride themselves upon their good luck and policy in forming matrimonial alliances. Sichelgaita's hand confirmed the fortunes of the Hauteville dynasty; nevertheless, whether from policy or from dislike to strange women, they usually chose, at least in the first generation, Norman wives of good families. Both the Spouses of the Norman Emir were his countrywomen: the first was Judith, daughter of William of Evreux by Hadevisa or Heloisa, widow of Robert de Grantmesnil and daughter of Giroie,

Wives of Roger of Sicily connecting him with the Houses of Evreux, Mortaigne, &c.

the Seigneur of Montreuil, a marriage which therefore connected him with the Conqueror's royal family. In Sicily, they changed her name from Judith to Delicia: this custom, very common in the Anglo-Norman period, creates great confusion in genealogies. 1080—1456 1080—1095

William the Conqueror, quite unwittingly, was the promoter of this match: it arose out of his quarrel with the Grantmesnils. When he drove away Robert de Grantmesnil, (the son of Hadevisa by her first husband,) the Abbot of St. Evroul; he the Abbot, quitting Normandy for ever, departed for Apulia. Tancred de Hauteville was a vassal of St. Evroul; and Guiscard visited the Monastery and bestowed his bounty there immediately before his departure. Abbot Robert therefore repaired naturally to Guiscard, but not alone, being accompanied by his two half-sisters, Judith and Emma of Evreux. Both had taken the veil in Normandy: both put it off in Sicily, Judith marrying Count Roger, as before mentioned, whilst Emma gave her hand to another of the family.

After the death of Judith or Delicia, Roger still affected the old stock, and married Eremburga, daughter of William Warleng or Berleng, Count of Mortoil, and therefore granddaughter of Robert, Count of Mortoil, half-brother of the Conqueror. Eloisa, Guiscard's niece, (daughter of his brother Serlo,) was married into the Bar-

1080—1456 neville family—the Barnewells of Ireland who settled there with Strongbow belonging to them 1080—1095 —and Roger Barneville Eloisa's husband became Lord of Girazzo. One daughter of Roger of Sicily, whose name is not known, was given to Hugh de Gersoy, a Manceau. The whole family seems to have laid great stress upon strengthening their Norman interest; for when Roger Bursa and Bohemond became reconciled, they jointly agreed to give their sister Mabilia, the Little wolf, to William de Grantmesnil in marriage. William de Grantmesnil was the son of the great Hugh de Grantmesnil, of whom we heard last at Courci sur Dive, and nephew of Abbot Robert. These matters are indicated to us by Ordericus, in his provoking conversational manner, never taking the trouble to give the details, upon the evident notion that You, the Reader, know all about the people as well as he, or better—and this marriage is mentioned so emphatically, as to suggest to us that Bohemond and his brother considered the transaction to be a matter of importance.

Connexion with the Roucy family.

In another marriage we trace the influence of Pope Urban. It will be recollected that the Pontiff was a Champennois, either from Rheims or Chastillon sur Marne; his father being Eucher, Seigneur of Langry. The match to which we allude was that which took place between Sybilla, Guiscard's daughter and Bohemond's

sister, and Ebles Count of Roucy in Champagne, and also of Montdidier, so well known in the modern Picardy of Charles-Quint's wars. The County of Roucy, within four leagues of Rheims, and in the diocese of Laon, was one of the seven *Pairies* of Champagne, and greatly respected from its antiquity and importance. In the female line Ebles was connected with the House of Hainault and the Capets, his Grandmother Beatrice being the daughter of Rainier, Count of Hainault and Hadevisa, a daughter of King Robert—Besides which, the Counts of Roucy were allied to the Counts of Perche and Mortagne; and there was also some connexion between them and the ancient House of Vermandois. More immediately important to our subject is the link connecting the Roucy family with Peter, the Promoter of the Crusade. 1080—1456 1080—1095

Other marriages of Guiscard's daughters.

Other fair ones of the Hauteville race had equally been employed to increase and consolidate the family interest. The marriage of the damsel, the Emma, or the Matilda, or the Adeliza—for her name is not recorded—who was the wife of the cowardly Ugone, the son of Albert Azzo, did not answer. She went back to her father Guiscard; but she may have been the Matilda, who, exchanging that Northern appellation for the more euphonic Almeida, became the wife, firstly or secondly, of Raymond, Count of Barcelona, and secondly or thirdly, of Count

1080—1456 Aymeric of Narbonne. Another of Guiscard's daughters, the Lady called Helen, espoused or
1080—1095 affianced to the Porphyrogenitus, Constantine Ducas, imparted, as we have seen, a pretence to the Empire.

Emma, who assumed the name of Julietta, a daughter of Roger of Sicily, was married, as before mentioned, to the Count of Clermont. She is said to have been courted by the French King. Matilda, another daughter of Count Roger, having first (as it is said) married Robert of Eu, became the wife of Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse—another Matilda is commemorated as Queen of Hungary, the Consort of King Coloman, so villainously treated by the Crusaders: nor did Conrad, the eldest son of the Western Emperor, disdain another Matilda, otherwise known by the names of Constancia or Yolanda, in conformity with the custom which causes such inextricable confusion, amidst the wilderness of genealogies. One very important alliance is enveloped in impenetrable obscurity.

Tancred, A niece of Guiscard became the mother of Tancred, so illustrious in prose and verse.

> Vien poi Tancredi, e non è alcun fra tanti,
> Tranne Rinaldo, o feritor' maggiore
> O piu bel di maniere e di sembianti
> O piu eccelso, e intrepido di cuore.
> S' alcun ombra di colpa i suoi gran vanti
> Rende men' chiari, è sol' follia d' amore.

But who was Tancred's father? Who was Odo,

or Eudes, or William, the "good Marquis," honoured by his son? So strangely inconsequent and desultory are the Chroniclers, that although in all of them Tancred holds a most prominent situation, and his biography, the *Gesta Tancredi*, forms a distinct work, written by his Chaplain, there is not one who gives any clue whatever concerning the country of his Parent. Ordericus alone preserves his names. Hence, an interminable field for learned conjecture amongst the French and Italian archæologists and historians. Muratori is at fault: Ducange no better: Tasso cannot help us to any purpose. Guess for guess, we are emboldened to hazard the supposition that, taking all the circumstances into consideration, the "good" Marquis, whether Odo, or Eudes, or William, appertained to the lineage of Burgundy.

1080—1456

1080—1095 name of his father not known.

§ 18. The intimate relations between Normans and Flemings were renewed and strengthened in Apulia and Sicily. Cross the Somme, and you really enter the Belgian territory. We have seen how closely and intimately the Norman and Flemish interests, so conjoined to each other by geographical position and intermixed lineage, worked together in England. Greece and Palestine were equally destined to witness Flemish and Norman Leaders and Captains, sometimes as fellow-companions, but also as rivals for the trophies of the Holy Wars. Marriage had

Connexions between the Italian-Normans and Flanders.

1080—1456 connected the Ducal families of Anglo-Nor-
mandy and Flanders: marriage again connected
1080—1095 the Ducal families of Flanders and Norman-
Sicily. Towards the conclusion of the reign of the Conqueror, the active, adventurous, restless Robert the Frison, Count of Flanders, had departed in pilgrimage for Palestine. A noble train accompanied him. Baldwin of Ghent, Bouchard de Comines (kinsman or ancestor of the Scottish Comyns), Gerard de Lisle, and many others belonging to the Knightly order. Count Robert and his companions proceeded through Apulia: the old intercourse was renewed,—a matrimonial alliance resulted,—a daughter of Flanders,—historians call her Alice or Adela, (an appellation always leaving us in doubt whether it be the real name, or the epithet of Sovereign birth,) the relict of St. Canute the Dane, and mother of Charles le Bon, exchanged the northern and sober regions of Europe for the most southern and picturesque; and the widow, blooming though not young, became the willing bride of Duke Roger. Thus both Roger Bursa and Bohemond could claim as their brother-in-law the second Robert, son of Robert the Frison, that Robert, from his exploits soon to be distinguished as the Hierosolomytan, who shortly before the proclamation of the Crusade succeeded to the great Belgic principality. This alliance again connected the Italian Normans with Nor-

mandy, the Flemish Robert, being kinsman of our Robert Courthose. 1080—1456

§ 19. These curiously complicated ties of acquaintance, consanguinity, and sympathy, brought Bohemond near to the great Hero of the Crusades, Godfrey, second son of Eustace aux Grenons, the Count of Boulogne. Far higher did Godfrey stand in reverence and dignity than his father: honoured as Charlemagne's descendant, the claims of lineage, through his mother Ida, and the pleasure of the Emperor had bestowed upon him the Marquisate of Antwerp and the Dukedom of Brabant and Lohier, or Nether Lorraine. Previously to the inundations of the Fifteenth century Brabant was nearly an island formed by Scheld, Sambre and Meuse, and their smaller sister the Haisne; and the whole, or portions, suburbs, or quarters of the great cities and opulent towns upon or divided by those rivers, Antwerp, Tournay, Oudenarde, Ghent, Dendremond, Maestricht, Liege and Namur, were within the old Brabantine boundary. Furthermore, as Duke of Nether Lorraine, Godfrey held either in direct dominion or feudal superiority much of Hainault, Limburg, Luxemburg, Namur, and Liege, as well as the small dukedom of Bouillon in the Ardennes, whence, from some accidental cause, Godfrey, "il pio Goffredo," acquired the title under which he became so celebrated in history. Godfrey, amiable, well-in- 1080—1095 Godfrey of Bouillon.

1080—1456 1080—1095 structed, bold, imaginative, courteous, possessed rare and eminent endowments. Lohier and Brabant included many districts in which the two populations, the Gaulish and the Teutonic, were and still are most curiously implanted amongst and within each other. He was equally familiar with the Romance and the *Thiois* or Flemish tongues: his brother Eustace had been the intimate ally and friend of Robert Courthose, and his position and nationality equally connected him with the more purely Flemish nobility.

Godfrey's design of conquering Jerusalem formed in early youth.

Very early in life, from his very childhood, Godfrey began to dwell upon the romantic project of winning Jerusalem. Often had the boy Godfrey told his affectionate and admiring mother, the canonized Ida, that he would tread the soil of Palestine, but not as a humble pilgrim with scrip and staff. Not merely for prayer did the young Godfrey hope to enter the gates of Jerusalem. It was his lofty aspiration to advance Zionwards, at the head of the armed hosts, Captain of the assailing warriors, and to subjugate the Holy City by battering ram and balista, directed against her walls. Godfrey had engaged heartily in the Imperial cause served in the Imperial army, and was first and foremost in the assault of Rome, when Henry, during the conflicts by which he expelled Hildebrand, attacked the city. Heated by excessive fatigue,

the exertion was followed by injudicious, incautious excess; the icy cold of the cavern in which Godfrey greedily quaffed the tempting wine, aided the malignant Malaria of the Tiber. Heavy fever ensued: and he was, or believed himself to be, in danger of death, and vowed to repair to Jerusalem. Recovery followed, but incomplete, the disease continued lurking in his constitution: the vow remained unperformed 1080—1456 / 1080—1095

§ 20. From these earliest predispositions of Godfrey to attempt the conquest of Jerusalem, we must not exclude the influence of the romantic traditions concerning his ancestor Charlemagne, so peculiarly current in Lorraine. Not only throughout the Middle Ages, but even when that era may be said to have closed, there was a species of mystical pre-eminence attached to the Carlovingian lineage, which those who could claim the honour nourished, though often in silence. God alone can bestow the prerogative attached to renowned ancestry, no human power can impart or destroy the prerogative; it is specially and directly created by the Almighty's hand. In those destined to use the talent, whether for good or evil, it becomes to them the token that they are set apart from the rest of mankind. It was upon this pretension, of Carlovingian descent, that the Guise family were brought forward as claimants of the French Crown. There is frequently much difficulty in deciding whether opinion has influenced literature, or literature

The Carlovingian traditions—their probable influence upon Godfrey's mind.

1080—1456 opinion, or to discern which is the effect, or which the cause; but it is very remarkable that, in the 1080—1095 dawn of the crusading period, just about the time when Peter the Hermit was beginning his predications, the romances of Charlemagne assumed a written form. About this time, as far as we can judge, was composed the Romance of Charlemagne's Voyage to Jerusalem. It is almost unnecessary to observe that the Voyage was a pure and gratuitous fiction, yet none was so readily received; and in less than a generation from the date of the first Crusade, the fable passed into the accepted facts of history.

Charlemagne's voyage to Jerusalem.

But more: at this era also are we to place the redaction of the Romance of Charlemagne and his Twelve Peers, which bears the name of Turpin Archbishop of Rheims, the influential and governing centre of the great cycle, wherein the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre and the Wars against the Saracens form so frequently a general motive, and sometimes a principal feature, particularly in the lays which, coalescing with the Cymric myths, assume their brightest and holiest aspect as the mystic Geste of the Sangreal. Great probability must be conceded to the theory that some of these Carlovingian epics were intended to excite the enthusiasm of the Crusaders, or written under the inspiration which the Crusades imparted, though the period of their composition has been placed in a subsequent age. Any exact determination of the era of these

Turpin's Charlemagne.

Fictions must be entirely hypothetical; nevertheless, taking the Romances according to the order in which they present themselves, we would rather ascribe the earliest to Godfrey's patronage or influence. His own family history is also connected with one of the most remarkable traditions of Romance, the Knight of the Swan. Furthermore, if, as some have conjectured, the Latin Romance of Turpin received the arrangement under which the text is now extant from Robert, somewhile Abbot of St. Remi at Rheims, where the statues of the Twelve Peers still decorate the venerable fabric,—this Robert, commonly quoted as "Robertus Monachus," having been not merely a Crusader, but also an Historian of the Crusades,—we obtain a still more definite indication of the spirit and intention instigating the marvellous fable.

1080—1456
1080—1095

Romance of Turpin ascribed to Robertus Monachus.

§ 21. Much communication was also kept up and continued by the Normans in Italy with their tramontane brethren, through the Hierarchy. The Normans effected great mutations in the Apulian, Calabrian, and Sicilian Churches, the Popes co-operating: perhaps exceeding their legitimate powers. A considerable portion of the Clergy were Greeks. No forcible measures were employed to obtain conformity; but effectual means were taken to discourage and supplant the Schismatics by a Latin Hierarchy, introducing Norman individuals, as well as Norman affiliations

Connexions kept up between Normandy and the Italian Normans through the Hierarchy.

1080—1456 and feelings. Guitmond, after the stern reproof which he administered to William the Conqueror, 1080—1095 quitted Normandy and journeyed to Rome; where, continuing for a time under a feigned name, calling himself Brother Christian, Urban nominated him Bishop of Aversa. Guitmond, who repudiated all English preferment as proffered by a Patron who presented by an unjust title, accepted the promotion in Norman Italy. Was this a compromise of principle?—Was Guitmond's conduct inconsistent with his reprehension of the wrongs committed by the Normans in England? —Perhaps not; the circumstances of the case afford a dubious apology. Aversa was rebuilt and repeopled by Robert Guiscard, the See, a new erection, immediately dependent upon the Pope:—we may suppose that, considering these special peculiarities, Guitmond reconciled the measure to his conscience, or his conscience to the measure.

Norman Monasteries founded by Guiscard in Italy.

But the ecclesiastical appointment then exerting the greatest influence, resulted from the Conqueror's before-mentioned expulsion of Robert de Grantmesnil, whereby the Ex-abbot of St. Evroul obtained so commanding a position in the new State. Advised without doubt by his Brother-in-law, and also fully sensible of the advantages to be derived from a Norman Clergy, Guiscard acted like William the Conqueror, founding and endowing various establishments in a

Norman spirit; amongst others, three Benedictine Monasteries as dependencies of St. Evroul, filled with Norman Monks, following the usages and observances of the Parent Church.—Saint Euphemia on the borders of the Adriatic, the Holy Trinity at Venusia (where Albereda was buried), and Saint Michael at Melito in Calabria.—Robert de Grantmesnil was the first Abbot of Venusia, and afterwards of St. Euphemia; and Berenger from St. Evroul, together with Ansger a Normanized Briton, respectively became the Abbot and the Prior of Venusia upon Grantmesnil's translation. 1080—1456 1080—1095

All the Grantmesnil family were great benefactors to the Abbey of St. Evroul, and the Hautevilles, as we have seen, were vassals of the House. Hence arose a constant intercourse between St. Evroul and Italy: it is a curious coincidence that the Monastery should thus become a central mart of intelligence, equally from the Normans of Britain and the Normans of Hesperia and Trinacria. Fortunate has it been for history, that the Cloister of St. Evroul fostered an Ordericus, to embody the information which had there become traditionary. We thus obtain an explanation of the apparent anomaly, that a plain Monk of English parentage, secluded in the Pays d'Ouche, should detail very many important particulars concerning the Italian Normans, and especially concerning Bohemond, which have no other record. Connexion between the Monastery of St. Evroul and Italy.

1080—1456

1080—1095 Norman Bishops in Apulia and Sicily.

After the conquest of Taormina, the Pope, with the concurrence of Count Roger, founded a new Bishoprick at Traina, subsequently transferred to Messina. One Greek Bishop survived at Palermo, but upon his death the Oriental succession ceased; and Roger gave the Bishoprick to Robert de Grantmesnil, removing him from St. Euphemia. The Bishops of Agrigentum or Girgenti and of Mazzara, were also relations of Count Roger, though their families are somewhat obscure: the first was Garlandus, a good Bishop and canonized after his death; the other was Etienne du Fer, of whom we know nothing except that he came from Rouen. Berenger and Ansger also became Bishops, the first of Venusia and the other of Catania. The greater part of the open preferments were filled up in the same way. These ecclesiastical appointments and colonies contributed very much to keep up the Hauteville interest in the old country.

Tendency of the Mediæval Nations to quiescence.

§ 22. Distant, roving, or as we are wont to call them, romantic expeditions, were contrary to the customs and obligations of mediæval Europe.—Will not this proposition receive the uncomfortable denomination of a paradox? Perhaps it may be truly a paradox; but examine the etymology of the ill-sounding word, and consider whether there is any inevitable connexion between paradox and perversity, the impression which the term commonly imparts. The first

definition in the Dictionary will tell you that a paradox is "a tenet contrary to received opinion." Never an agreeable task to propound such tenets, often dangerous;—but we must venture upon them. We are told a good deal in books about Knights, perpetually errant, travelling about in quest of adventures, who, "seeking to aid the "oppressed or unsuccessful, cheerfully engaged "themselves to redress those wrongs which the "laws were too feeble to remedy; the true spirit "of Chivalry in its most genuine heroism."—Now as far as we can ascertain from the examination of history, we can find but one example of such a character, though he certainly is a bright one, the renowned Hidalgo, Don Quixote de la Mancha. The ideal Personification of Chivalry must stand by the side of the ideal Personification of Villainage, Gurth with the collar round his neck—both equally the poetical creations of genius. For though some remote approximations may be found to the Knight-errant who flourishes his sword, and kneels and sings on the boards of the Historic stage, still they were aberrations from the accustomed orbits of mankind, not less eccentric than they would be at the present day.

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No real Knight-errants.

Of this fact we have a most remarkable exemplification in the tone adopted by a National Chronicler during the thirteenth century, concerning the early expeditions of the Northmen. We allude to the Author of the "*Ystoire de li*

Views of the writer of the "Ystoire de li Normant," as to the discontinuance of antique Chivalry.

1080—1456 1080—1095 *Normant,*" who, writing in Apulia for Norman readers, employing their own French dialect, yet curiously tinged by the *volgare* of the land, expressly points out to the descendants of Guiscard, that their ancestors, the Scandinavian Jarls and Sea-Kings, did not act according to the usual and accustomed motives, but should be contemplated as an instructive example of the good old times, the genial days of antique Chivalry.—" Et " se partirent ceste gent, et non firent secont la " costumance de moult qui vont par lo monde, " liquel se metent à servir autre; *mès simillance* " *de li antique Chevalier*, et voilloient avoir toute " gent en lor subjettion et en lor seignorie."— Valour and heroism, the "*gran' bontà de' Cavalieri antichi,*" which the tame common-place sordid world then no longer realized.

Reasons which, during the Middle Ages, kept people at home.

In fact, there was every reason, from the general constitution of mediæval society, that people should keep at home. Forty days was the utmost term for which the Suzerain could compel the absence of the Vassal from his Castle. Their wars usually were confined within a narrow district. Such expeditions as those effected by the Conqueror were wonders. The eye of the master fattened the horse. Very many important duties could only be performed or exacted in person. The domains required the constant presence of the Tenant and the Lord; the Homage could neither be received or performed otherwise than

in person, nor the plough guided or the sword wielded otherwise than by the arm of the Knight or the Villein. The rent could not be paid to the account of the Landlord, or remitted in a letter. Unless the Landowner ground his loaf out of his barn, and cooked his beef out of his own salt-tub, he got small benefit from his produce. The almost universal commutation of duties and obligations for money in a civilized state of society, has considerably diminished the necessity for local stability; yet, even now, how disadvantageously circumstanced is the Absentee! Furthermore, there was the extreme difficulty of providing for the expences of travelling: no Banks, no Bankers:—last of all, the dangers and perils of the way.—These circumstances combined to discourage any enterprize which would remove the individual from his domicile, unless stimulated by conscience or affection, by hard necessity or definite hope. Any direct promise of profit or interest might excite corresponding exertion, but not unless the object was sufficiently visible and palpable to concentrate the vagueness of desire.

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§ 23. Historical knowledge is a theory grounded upon the examination of Witnesses: we must however recollect that there is an essential difference between the construction of historical evidence and the application of legal evidence. Were the distinction thoroughly understood, much un-

Bohemond's schemes for exciting Europe against the Greeks and Orientals.

1080—1456 profitable controversy and needless harshness would be spared. The Historian, whatever lan-
1080—1095 guage he may employ, ought not to be considered as passing judgment upon the dead: he can only enquire into their conduct, and that most imperfectly. He cannot listen behind the arras to the secret conversation, nor cross-examine the Agent or the Accomplice, he must take the depositions as he finds them, placing the recorded testimonies in apposition. If the witnesses are uninformed, he cannot summon others; if they are false, he cannot contradict them: he cannot cross-examine, he must receive the evidence as it is found; and therefore, in strictness of terms, the Historian can never be said to establish facts: the utmost which human enquiry can accomplish is to raise presumptions. It is fully certain that Bohemond's genius directed the forces of Europe against Asia, nominally for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, but really with the intent of winning the Greek Empire amidst the turmoil and confusion: and we must now briefly endeavour to presume the means by which he succeeded in giving the impulse, though he did not earn his contemplated prize. Like most Projectors, he obtained but a moderate share in the advantages of his scheme.—A vast attempt, requiring the combination of force and opinion; but the very difficulties stimulated him to the exertion of the peculiar talent which he possessed.

Adapting an old apologue, not the worse for its dulness, we may divide Statesmen into three classes. The first, play the great game of State-craft with the dice: they hazard their stakes upon the cast, taking their venture, all or nothing, equally excited by the expectation of loss or gain.—The second, are your Chess-players, who carry on their game solely by their head, who calculate every combination and every move.—The third, play at Tables: the game results from chance corrected by skill: the moves of the pieces follow the throw; it is the business of the player to improve the advantage of good luck, to contend against bad.—According to the ordinary balance of human affairs, all three Players may equally succeed or equally fail. Chance cannot be regulated.—Men do not always obey the hand.—Ingenuity may be helpless against the adverse destiny; nevertheless the last game is most consonant to our feelings, and the one in which least disappointment is incurred. You have not trusted too much either to fortune or to your own skill—it cannot be helped if you fail. Now it was to this last class that Bohemond belonged. An attentive Observer of the times, the wide-spreading and continuous disorganization occasioned by the recurring famines and plagues of Europe, which were everywhere detaching the cultivators from the soil, might alone have suggested the possibility of enlisting

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1080—1456 the multitudes who inclined to seek their fortune.
1080—1095 The rich and fertile dominions of the Eastern Emperor were comparatively near and exceedingly attractive, well known to those who had tasted of their luxuries and had in part shared in their spoils: therefore Greece was first pointed out as the field of European enterprize.

Death of Guiscard. Respite given to the Greek Empire thereby.

§ 24. Great were the perils into which the shattered Empire had been brought by the Norman invasion. Poison, administered by Sichelgaita, was reported to have occasioned Guiscard's death. It is amongst the ugliest satires upon human nature, that the notion of the Step-mother should be so popularly associated to unkindness and malignity. Sichelgaita laboured under this disrepute: she tried first, it is said, thus to rid herself of Bohemond. Then, for the purpose of advancing her son Roger, as report added, she willingly yielded to the instigations of Alexis, and destroyed her husband.

This detestable mode of wreaking vengeance was no less common in Normandy than in the South. Each example encouraged and inculcated a repetition of the crime, or gave rise to a suspicion that a similar act had been committed. A very great advantage had certainly resulted to the Greeks by the removal of Guiscard, nevertheless we are not entitled to fix the stigma of such a cowardly assassination upon the memory of Alexis; for if we may take Anna Comnena

as speaking the usual sentiments of her family and nation, the Greeks were more generous to their enemies than the Latins. Anna is occasionally just to the memory of her father's foes: his foes are never. But at the same time, not only the aversion entertained by the Greeks against the Latins continued, but their fear, especially of the Normans, had encreased; and it was for this reason that Alexis had encouraged the immigration of the English who had been received into his pay, as the means of encreasing his powers of defence against the encroaching enemy. 1080—1456 / 1080—1095

Intercourse between Byzantium and Western Christendom was rare: Greece was morally out of Europe, as much as Turkey now: communications were jealous, stiff, stately, without any comity; like the tone which Stamboul and Whitehall mutually adopted in the Stuart age. Some sensation therefore must have been excited by the appearance of a letter particularly addressed to Robert, Count of Flanders, but also professing to be a circular to all Princes, and all lovers of the Christian faith, clerks and laymen, whereby Alexis earnestly, submissively, and heartily invites the aid of the Latins, and seeks to entice them into his Empire. Letter addressed in the name of Alexis to Robert, Count of Flanders, and all Christian powers, inviting them to Constantinople.

In this very remarkable document, after expatiating upon the progress made by the Infidels, and stating that the Turks were now at the very

1080—1456 gates of Constantinople,—for as Alexis is made to say, he constantly flies before them,—he professes
1080—1095 that he would rather be the subject, the vassal of the Latins, than the scorn of the Pagans. "Far better it is," the Emperor declares, "that you should rule Constantinople, than that a city containing so many holy relics should fall into the Infidels' power."—The relics are then detailed: we dare not transcribe the list. Taken as a document, adapted to the habits of thought then prevailing, it cannot be perused otherwise than with sorrow for the fond credulity, the exaggeration of piety, willing to believe not only in absurdities, but in impossibilities; and with indignation against those who abused the simplicity of the believer.

The Emperor then exhorts the Latins to protect such precious pledges of faith; but should this duty be an insufficient inducement, how many others does his Empire offer?—"Our Women are the most beautiful in the whole world."—those who speak for Alexis deal in superlatives—if relics, or the charms of beauty suffice not—"if you love gold most of all, does the whole universe contain treasures to be compared to ours? The Temple of Solomon in all its glory did not boast of such precious deposits in gold, silver, precious stones, silken tapestries and robes, as are found in the one Church of St. Sophia.—How shall I reckon to you the wealth of Our nobles, when the

possessions even of Our ignoble merchants surpass estimation.—Still more Our own Imperial treasures—no tongue can tell the amounts deposited or concealed in the vaults of Our Imperial palace —all the riches of the old Roman Emperors are hidden there. Haste, haste, therefore, with all your power; come, come, with all your force, lest such opulence should fall into the hands of the Infidels, whose number is infinite—Sixty thousand are expected, almost on this present day."

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This letter is said to have been followed by an Embassy. Messengers from Byzantium presented themselves, as it was reported, before Urban in the Council of Piacenza, earnestly beseeching him to support the falling Empire. If any such personages appeared, there might have been some difficulty in verifying their credentials. It is not absolutely impossible but that some long-robed, long-bearded, real or pseudo-Byzantines, speaking good Greek, (there were plenty at Bohemond's service in Apulia,) should have figured before the assembly. The false Nuncio of Portugal is a remarkable example of the transient success which may attend such impostures. Even in our own days there have been instances of self-appointed agents, professing to treat and negociate on behalf of Potentates and Powers. But in the present case, it is not even certain whether a dramatic repre-

1095. Doubtful reports of an Embassy despatched by Alexis to the Council of Piacenza.

1080—1456 1080—1095 sentation took place. The Embassy is incidentally mentioned only by one writer. In the Acts of the Council, or rather in the memoranda of the Acts, no notice is taken of the proceeding. Byzantine Historians are entirely silent, and as to the Epistle, it is palpably suppositious: there is not a phrase which could have proceeded from a Greek Emperor.

Presumptions for assigning the fabrication of the letter to Bohemond.

There are certain contingencies in History, in which our final opinion concerning important events is guided by the authenticity or falsehood of particular documents. Mary, Queen of Scots, affords a familiar instance. Archæologists lay down many rules for testing the authenticity of Diploma, Bull, or Charter, and these investigations constitute a most important branch of the arid science. The Benedictines have given us six quarto volumes principally for the purpose of confuting fraud or imposition.

When the original exists, its genuineness is conclusively determined by experience. The keen Collector, well versed in the mysteries of numismatic ingenuity, detects the beautifully-preserved Philistis by touching the silver cheek of the Syracusian Queen with his tongue, or poising the medal on the tip of his finger;—*tact* in the literal sense: the etymology being the best exponent of the corresponding or correlative mental process. Before the Palæographist, in like manner, the spurious document is informed against

by the substance of the wax, the hue of the ink, 1080—1456
the turn of the pen, the ruled line merely tinting 1080—1095
the surface or deeply dinting into the pellicle, nay, almost by the smell of the parchment.—Master John Hardinge's forged instruments, so carefully deposited in our ancient Treasury, which pretend to be proofs of the supremacy of England over Ancient Scotland, are of this class. For these he got his pension, and ought to have lost his ears. His knavery has cast discredit upon the most authentic records. Because the Charter with the Great Seal of Scotland appendant, the Lion rampant within the tressure fleury, whereby Malcolm Canmore testifies his vassalage, is a gross and impudent fabrication, therefore it is argued that we must refuse credence to the coeval Chronicle, which tells of the Homage at Abernethy.

The physical or material circumstances which conduce to suspicion or credence when the originals can be consulted, are necessarily absent from documents existing only in transcript. You then must depend upon internal evidence, more difficult of application on account of the gradations of untruth.—The one extreme may be the adulteration resulting from the conjectural emendation of the Editor, or the ignorance of the transcriber, and the other, the manufacture of a designing deceiver :—the one, the grand Gallery Rubens, glowing and resplendent with Chrome-

1080—1456 yellow and Prussian-blue,—the colours, the gifts
1080—1095 of modern chemistry, which, denied to the pallet of Antwerp or Cologne, indicate the skilful restoration, or reveal the rather clumsy repair to the microscopic eye of the discreet, smiling, silent Artist, admiring under the direction of the Æsthetic Patron: the other the charming, brilliant Van Huysum, wherein the innocent Botanist's unlucky sincerity discovers, for the confusion of the despairing possessor of the darling gem, that the Dahlia, which gives so much point to the bouquet, was utterly unknown in Europe until the Banksian era.—The mistake in the name of a Bishop, and the non-correspondence of Indiction and Dominical year do not affect the substance of Alfred's grant recorded in the Book of Abingdon; whilst the mere notice of the proceedings before the "King in Parliament" bestows irrevocable condemnation upon King Ethelred's Croyland Charter.

There is a common saying, that nothing is so easy as lying—which is not true, if thereby you mean that it is easy to lie so as to obtain belief. It might be both interesting and profitable, had we here space, to show the extreme difficulty, almost amounting to impossibility, of forging a document, still less a narrative, which should not excite a doubt, amounting to detection when examined by any practised judge in that behalf.—The detection results not so much

from particulars, as from an intuitive grasp of the whole, just as the experienced Banker discovers the accommodation-bill at the first glance. He seizes the whole bearing of the transaction, the date and maturity, the names, residences, and connexion of the parties, their line of business, whether, to use the mercantile phrase, they had a sufficient reason for operating upon each other, what consideration could have been given, and decides accordingly.—Now, applying similar reasonings to the Epistle of Alexis, it is obvious that in him, so recently delivered by Guiscard's death from the oppressions of the Latins, it would have been absolute insanity, if addressing the noble Count of Flanders, so closely allied to the Hauteville family, he, the Emperor, had tempted such devourers by offering an unconditional surrender of his People, his Wealth, and his Empire.—What should we think of a Note, dated "Mexico," and purporting to come from Santa Anna, inviting Colonel Austin and Five hundred American rifles from Texas, to defend the Capital of the Republic against the Indians? —Upon the style and phraseology of the Epistle it is needless to enlarge: the forgery is rank in every phrase.

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We can scarcely err in ascribing this composition to the agency of Bohemond. Although the Letter has never received that critical examination which the importance of the question

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deserves, yet the casual industry of Archæologists has recovered more than one transcript from the Monastic Records of Gallia Belgica. The Epistle is fully quoted by Guibert of Nogent, the best informed amongst the Chroniclers of the Crusades who dwelt in Northern France. Circumstances demonstrate that copies of the document were widely diffused, and we shall find that at no distant period the motive which the proposal offered, tangible, solid,—a very computable prospect of profit and loss, a very intelligible and valuable acquisition, contributed mainly in sending forth the bold yet calculating Adventurers, who obeyed the Pontiff's call.

Peter the Hermit the agent of Bohemond.

§ 25. These appeals predisposed Princes and Baronage to adopt Bohemond's views. Whether they fully believed in the Epistle's genuineness or not, yet the address certainly brought the matter home to their minds: the Embassy, still more. Some gave full credit to the messages, nevertheless all lingered. Urban himself paused; he may have been doubting in conscience, or distrustful of his Colleagues, or appalled by the magnitude of the enterprize. The object, moreover, though definite, was distant, nor had any Commander appeared. And although the Grecian conquest might engage the attention of Chiefs and Leaders, the motive was scarcely adequate to excite that popular feeling needful to collect an army, which, if set in motion, must march

self-supported; for there were no means of raising a common fund. 1080—1456

Ecclesiastical discipline and devotion had long sent adventurers to the East. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land commenced in the early ages of the Church. The first examples quoted are evidently legendary. From the time of Constantine, however, we may trace the practice, though not very conspicuously. The Church subsequently included pilgrimages in that penitentiary system by which she sought to supply the defects of temporal jurisprudence. These tedious and perilous journeys were enjoined as penances for offences beyond the jurisdiction of the civil Magistrate, or imperfectly restrained by law: the rules and regulations imposed, abstinence, prayer, privation, austerity and corporal discipline, rendered the punishment heavy to the body, and, as they deemed, salutary to the soul. No trial perhaps is more severe, yet more benign, if there be any germ of good in the heart, than the weary yearning after affection which absence imposes, giving comfort in the chastisement. 1080—1095 Pilgrimages, a portion of the ancient Penitentiary system of the Church.

The criminal, whether condemned by the Church or by his own conscience, sustained the hardships of exile, nay, penal transportation, without incurring the degradations and suffering, the intense misery inflicted by the Ministers of Positive civilization, cruel in her tenderest mercies. It was reserved for our Age to inter-

1080—1456 1080—1095 cept the smallest bounty which the Hand of Providence casts before the wretched, and to direct carefully and anxiously, that every berry, herb, or leaf of pleasant taste, or which can afford a refreshing juice, should be rooted out from the accursed Island where the offal and carrion-fed Convict is doomed to execrable toil.

Moreover, there were many cases in which the sinner's removal from the locality where his presence recalled his temptation or his crime, became equally beneficial to himself and to society; nor were pilgrimages employed indiscriminately—they constituted an important portion, yet a portion only, of ecclesiastical discipline, not a substitute for repentance.

Thus far, well;—but concurrently with the pilgrimages of discipline, other classes of pilgrimage were gaining ground—pilgrimages of self-will, pleasure-pilgrimages, profit-pilgrimages, affording ample means of self-deceit and seduction—we mean those pilgrimages which were undertaken for secular motives or natural inclinations, denominated religious or devotional. Fancy and imagination occasionally suggested these adventures: the unconquerable desire of seeing foreign countries; historical or scientific curiosity; the appetite for excitement; family-troubles or family-quarrels; the wish to cast off lawful restraints; mere idleness, and worse than idleness. All this was very obvious: it required nothing but com-

Abuse of pilgrimages:

mon sense to know that a large proportion of those who put on the pilgrim's garb were impelled by human, mixed, or unsound desires. Therefore whatever improvement, pleasure and satisfaction, the visiting of holy places might impart to really pious minds, the comparative disadvantages were so great, that pilgrimages had been denounced and reprobated by some of the wisest Fathers and Doctors of the Western Church, except when undertaken simply and solely in canonical obedience.

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discouraged by Fathers of the Church.

St. Gregory of Nyssa, after visiting Jerusalem, being grieved to the heart at the depravity which prevailed in the Holy City, was exceedingly troubled by beholding the danger both to faith and morals resulting from pilgrimages. All the remarks and observations which he and the others who shared in his opinions make upon the subject are plain and common-place, and therefore the more important to be considered:—let us never forget, that trite truths, and familiar practical sentiments, restore the reality of History. Thus, for example, St. Gregory asks "whether there be any reason to suppose that "the influences of the Holy Spirit are confined "to Jerusalem?" "You who fear the Lord, fear "Him wherever He has given you a dwelling-"place."—"Is it requisite to visit the Mount of "Olives for the purpose of confirming our belief "in the Ascension?"

By St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Boniface.

1080—1456 St. Augustine taught his Hearers that it was not needful to travel to the East, or to cross
1080—1095 the Seas, in order to obtain remission of sins. St. Jerome's arguments are more elaborate. His personal conduct might seem in the first instance to afford an example in favour of the practice, inasmuch as he had settled himself in Palestine. But St. Jerome had domiciled himself in the Holy Land the better to prepare for the prosecution of his great task, the Translation of the Scriptures. It was only through converse with the Rabbins of Tiberias that he could perfect himself in the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues: neither could he otherwise than by oral instruction and actual observation, acquire the knowledge required to adorn the Interpreter, the Critic, the Historian.—"In the same manner,"—says the Great Doctor of the Church, "as those "who have visited Athens are better qualified "to understand the History of Greece, and *Virgil* "gives most delight to those who have sailed "from Troas by Leucate, and Acroceraunia to "Sicily, and thence to the Tiber; even so are "those readers of the Holy Scriptures privi-"leged who have seen Palestine with their own "eyes."—But St. Jerome is most energetic in denying the doctrine that a pilgrimage to the Holy Land is in any wise necessary for improvement or conducive to salvation. One of his arguments is curiously pertinent to us, in this

Country,—"*Regnum enim Dei intra vos est— de Hierosolymis et de Britannia, æqualiter patet Aula cœlestis.*"—Female virtue, female honour suffered from these distant expeditions.—St. Gregory of Nyssa expatiates on this subject.—St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence, the English Apostle of Germany, also did all in his power to discourage pilgrimages, especially amongst English women, upon the ground of the temptations to which their morals were exposed. He uses the most emphatic expressions in describing the disgrace they sustained. 1080—1456 1080—1095

These disadvantages and evils were not overlooked: various regulations were enforced by the Church, as well as by the Civil Power, for the purpose of diminishing the mischief. No Monk was to undertake a pilgrimage without the licence of a Superior. Married people not to separate for this purpose, otherwise than by mutual consent. Every pilgrim to be legitimated by a letter of recommendation from the Bishop of his Diocese or other ecclesiastical Superior, and also by a regular passport from his Government. The "*Tracturia pro Itinere peragendo*," being such a passport, is extant in the celebrated Marculphian collection of established formularies.

Saints and Doctors had testified against pilgrimages. The Church bowed to their authority. But submission to authority is not always accompanied by obedience, and the acknowledgment of a stringent principle is not inconsistent with

Counter-current of opinion strongly in favour of pilgrimages.

1080—1456 respectful evasion. The Church hesitated, and in the eleventh century pilgrimages were be-
1080—1095 coming more numerous and popular. The pilgrim trains increased in frequency and magnitude: the old salutary rules and restraints were neglected, and the idea evidently began to prevail, that scrip and wallet might be conjoined to war and conquest. Could any precedent be more encouraging than the success of the Normans in Apulia? Sixty demure and humble pilgrims, their shirts of mail beneath the cilice, becoming masters of such lovely realms.—Their devotion to St. Michael had been well rewarded.

With respect to Palestine, an Army,—seven thousand pilgrims moving together can be called by no other name—had proceeded thither, just before the conquest of England, conducted by four Prelates of the Empire—Siegfried, Archbishop of Mayence, and his brethren the Bishops of Bamburg, Utrecht, and Ratisbon. Siegfried was so tall and handsome, that admiring crowds were used to follow the splendid German. This episcopal army engaged in war with the Arabs. It matters little how the dispute arose—the Pilgrims were discomfited. Still such an host, advancing far into Palestine, shewed what might be effected by European steadiness and valour. Another exploring expedition was the party headed by Robert the Frison. It taught the Flemings the way to Jerusalem. The tokens of this tendency imparted to the public mind,

thicken upon us: the traditions of Charlemagne's 1080—1456
expeditions to Jerusalem are its exemplifications.
And lastly, in Godfrey of Bouillon, wise, pious, 1080—1095
bold and influential, pledged by his vow to the conquest of Jerusalem, there was the Captain who might be persuaded to take the command.

Nevertheless, no movement, no concentration of motive ensued until Peter de Acheris, *alias* Peter the Frenchman, *alias* Peter the Hermit, *alias* Petrus Cucullatus, *alias* Koukou Petros, whilome the vassal of Godfrey's father Eustace of Boulogne, the husband of Anna de Roucy, then a Monk in the Forez, and an Anchorite, no one knows where, subsequently the useful Retainer of Guiscard, after that a Pilgrim to Jerusalem, returns from Palestine, lands at Bari, Bohemond's territory, repairs to Urban, Bohemond's confederate and friend; and then, roaming round about, begins in his own country, in the Amienneois, within the hearing, so to speak, of the Boulogne and Lorraine families, those Predications which roused the Nations and sent forth the famine-struck, restless, demoralized Multitude, fascinated as by an irresistible power.

It is a maxim of the Common law, that when three or more persons apparently acting severally and distinctly pursue an uniform course, tending to one object, seeking the same intent: and then afterwards conjoin in overt-acts, conformable to their previous separate actions, such their union renders them liable to the charge

1080—1456 of conspiracy. Each might have been acting from his own head; they might have come together 1080—1095 by accident; the speeches of the same tenor may have resulted from a general contagion of opinion, but the Jurors for our Lady the Queen will not believe it. The Attorney-General does not consult La Place upon probabilities. He dispenses with any calculation of chances. The philosophy of the indictment, more practically conclusive, deduces the previous confederacy and combination of the Defendants from their continued agreement and ultimate union. If Peter de Acheris therefore be arraigned before the Tribunal of History, we believe that a verdict of "guilty" ought to pass against him, when accused of conspiring with Urban and with Bohemond, for the purpose of turning the forces of Europe against the Byzantine Empire.

Erroneous foundation of the Crusades.

§ 26. Could we erase the word Holy, the iniquity of these Wars would be materially diminished. Let Bohemond be invested with the full renown he sought: yield to Guiscard's son all the honour attached to his proud and ably concerted military project of gaining the Greek Empire. The Conqueror's ambition excuses the Conqueror. Genghis Khan or Julius Cæsar make no apologies for their conduct, and seek no justification: they need none. Much of the machinery employed for producing the Crusade was free from blame: the personal influences, the family connexions (hereafter more minutely de-

tailed) which united the Leaders of the cause, and the exertions which brought them together, were fairly employed. Men must always work by human means: nor, when labouring in the legitimate service of God, ought we to neglect the weapons, the tools, or the talents which He has given us. 1080—1456 / 1080—1095

In worldly pursuits, presented unequivocally as worldly pursuits, even in cases where the aim is merely rendered pardonable by the frailty of human nature, the exertions of the pious who may be compelled to engage therein, are not unfrequently rewarded by a blessing. They have turned sinners to righteousness; but can this blessing be expected when they voluntarily ally themselves with the world, under the vain hope that they may be able to guide and direct its evils heavenwards? They have thus far delivered themselves unto the Adversary. They must follow the Leader whom they have chosen, whose craft they cannot baffle, and to whose supremacy, accepted of their own accord, they must succumb.—Unquestionably there was much simple enthusiasm amongst the Crusaders, mercifully rendered the means of preserving things holy and divine: much true faith; but the best evidence which we possess of their sincerity and self-devotion, is found in their sorrow and astonishment when the enterprize failed. The good, wise, pious, charitable, could not possibly understand how they had been deprived of assistance

Sincerity of many of the Crusaders testified by their sentiments of disappointment.

1080—1456 in a cause to them appearing so holy, lawful, just. A true exponent of their sentiments is 1080—1095 found in St. Bernard. He vents his lamentations, according to his custom, principally in the language of the Psalms;—why were the Princes allowed to wander in their way, why were they given over to their enemies?

Sinfulness of the Holy War.

§ 27. Questions thus asked might have been most easily answered, had the Enquirers awakened themselves to the truth. They would then have known, that, taking the Crusades under the most favourable aspect, had the recovery of Palestine been really and truly a work of piety, they had neglected the relative proportion of obligations and the relation of duties, and had forgotten that good must never be sought through evil. The premises upon which even any imperfect justification could be founded, are absent. The Crusaders violated all laws of justice, human or divine.—The war was unprovoked, aggressive, exterminating: no debate is needed to prove that such war is irreconcileable to Christianity; and its sin was aggravated by the pretence of being conducive to the Service of God. The Crusade was one of those examples of permitted temptation—the Lying Spirit placed in the mouth of the Prophet—so inexplicable to human understanding, yet so distinctly revealed: constantly continuous and continuing, whereby even the ordinary and natural perceptions of right and wrong, nay, the

very intuitive logic of human reason, seems to be dulled and destroyed. 1080—1456

1080—1095 The Crusade, the first example of aggressive warfare sanctioned by the Church.

Hitherto, the Church, whatever might have been the sentiments entertained by particular Pontiffs (Hildebrand himself is not clear from blame), had avoided the two extremes of giving any direct approbation of war, or of pronouncing an unqualified condemnation upon war. No cases of conscience are more difficult to determine than the exact point or boundary where the natural and irrevocable right of self-defence against violence, granted by the Creator to Mankind, is to find a limit in the positive precepts of Revelation. War had been tolerated in the Christian soldier, when imposed by duty, practised in obedience, or compelled by necessity—the Soldier appears as the executor of the punishment imposed by man's transgressions: war being thereby rendered needful in the economy of human society. St. Augustine's Epistle to Count Boniface is perhaps as good an exposition of the military obligation thus construed, as can be found; plain, unaffected, and sensible.

In some instances, as we have seen, aggressive war received an express, though temperate condemnation, being visited by penances, not very heavy or grievous, but sufficient to convey a sense of rebuke, and stand as a testimony of disapprobation. When warfare was to be employed judicially, when the soldier bore the sword in the capacity of a magistrate: when the weapon was

1080—1456 to be drawn for the protection of the defenceless, the orphan and the widow, a benediction was 1080—1095 bestowed, and not inconsistently. The solemn dedication was given for the purpose of restraining the abuse of force, not as the laud and praise of military prowess—a duty, not an honour. But the Crusades cannot be covered by this vindication. Comparisons taken from the Scriptures are wholly irrelevant, nay, deceptive. Joshua, and Samson, and Jephthah, Gideon, and Barak, were winning or defending their People's promised land, obeying God's commandments; whereas the Crusaders undertook a war without a warrant, entirely in rebellion against the precepts of the Prince of Peace. All their reasons were futile; destitute of solidity or consistency—"The Crusaders professed their desire of avenging the insult offered to "our Lord;"—we borrow the words employed by the most trustworthy of ecclesiastical Historians; —"but the sins and corruptions of his followers "disgrace his Name, and not the profanation of the "material structures, the Temple or the Sepulchre. "Whatever veneration may be due to holy places, "Faith is not bound to them. He has declared "that the time was come when God should no "more be worshipped at Jerusalem or Samaria, "but everywhere in spirit and in truth. It is a "mistake in us to call Palestine the Lord's Inheri- "tance or the Promised Land: those expressions "belong only to the Old Testament, and cannot "receive any application to the dispensation of

Fleury's condemnation of the religious notions professed by the Crusaders.

"the New Covenant, otherwise than as a type or "figure. His inheritance is His Church, brought "together from all nations of the world: His pro- "mised land is His heavenly Kingdom." 1080—1456 1080—1095

§ 28. Not less sophistical, though more plausible, are the arguments adduced by Urban to array Europe against Asia, upon the plea of superior civilization, conjoined with the principle that no prescription derived from time, imparts to the Conqueror a legitimate authority over the nations whom he has subdued. In suggesting these motives, Urban suffered himself to be employed as an agent, perverting right for the purpose of ministering to selfish ambition.

Intervention on behalf of the Oriental Christians,—a sophistical pretence.

The doctrine which denies any prescriptive right to a Conqueror, has, if a name be considered, the highest sanction which political ethics can obtain, the sanction of the Philosopher whose statue we are now erecting in the Palace of the Legislature, the sanction of the Metaphysician, the Jurist, the Moral Teacher, the Founder, in many respects, of our present Constitution; he whose works opened a new era of political opinion in Europe; he who "prepared the way "for theories of political society, hardly bolder in "their announcement, but expressed with more "passionate ardour, from which the great revolu- "tions of the last and present age have sprung."— "Who doubts,"—says Locke,—"but that the Gre- "cian Christians, descendants of the ancient pos- "sessors of that country, may justly cast off the

Locke's doctrine that no lawful right is obtained by conquest.

1080—1456 "Turkish yoke, which they have so long groaned
1080—1095 "under, whenever they have an opportunity to "do it; for no government can have a right of "obedience from a people who have not freely "consented to it." And hence if this ratiocination be admitted, it follows, as has been wisely observed, "that no State composed, as most have "been, out of the spoil of conquest, can exer- "cise a legitimate authority over the latest pos- "terity of those it has incorporated. Wales, for "instance, has an eternal right to shake off the "yoke of England; for what Locke says of con- "sent to laws by representatives, is of little "weight when these must be out-numbered in "the general legislature of both countries; and, "indeed, the first question for the Cambro-Bri- "tons would be to determine whether they would "form part of such a common legislation."

Hallam's remarks thereon.

Without discussing the principle either way, the practical refutation is most simple. Hitherto no Conquerors have ever dreamt of allowing the doctrine to be turned against themselves.—Will we?—As applied by Urban in the Council of Clermont, the exposition was ludicrously mournful; and like many other decencies which satisfy the easy virtue of political prudery, approached so close to mockery, that a by-stander might have wondered how gravity could be preserved. If an occupation continued during centuries did not justify the Mahometans in retaining Egypt, or legitimate the authority derived at Fez, or Tunis, from

the Caliphate of Bagdad, the title of Rollo's descendants over Neustria fell into fearful jeopardy. Alp-Arslan arguing with Guiscard would have run the Norman very hard. The recent acquisition of Antioch by the Turk might be challenged, but the challenge would be retorted upon the Normans in Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, just gained by fraud and force. How could King Roger defend himself in fair Trinacria against such reasoning?—Very easily:—"I have vanquished them,"—is his reply;—his justification speaks from the blade of his triumphant sword, 1080—1456 1080—1095

"Apulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit et Afer."

And this is the complete apology for the Conqueror:—Respect him the more when he disdains to reason. He then avoids the breach of the third Commandment. Urban broke that Commandment when he incited the Crusaders in the name of religion. We must judge of Kings by the standard of Kings, and of Conquerors by the standard of Conquerors.—Open, manifested ambition, the fair and avowed seeking of wealth or power, not palliated by any arguments, not making any appeal to conscientious sentiment, are motives far less harmful thus disclosed, than when conjoined to the pretence of promoting the spiritual or moral benefit of mankind. With respect to the Crusaders, these pretences were hollow and untrue; and if we attempt in any wise to vindicate the wrong-doers, we become acces-

1080—1456 sories after the fact, and take their responsibilities upon ourselves.

1080—1095 Oriental Christians ill treated by the Latins.

They performed none of their promises, they never thought of any such performance. Wherever the Crusaders colonized, they followed the Turkish precedents, insulting the native Christians, humiliating them, keeping them out of their own possessions. In every City where the Latins obtained the mastery, they took possession of the houses, and drove the Orientals, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Nestorians, whoever they might be, into the Black Town. The "Assizes of Jerusalem," the Colonial Code of the Latin Kingdom, do not recognize any Burgesses except Latins. We are in great obscurity concerning the rural population. As far as we can judge from the hints which reach us, the services heretofore rendered, were aggravated by the new Lords of the soil. Hugh de Saint Omer, Baron of Tiberias, had less affinity with his Syrian rayahs than Turk or Tartar: his Flemish Baillif hit as heavily as the Reis, and encreased the rent besides.

In matters of religion the Latins were even more intolerant than the Mussulman had become, for the Mahometans now left the native Christians alone, whereas the Latins subverted, as far as they could, the Oriental establishment by erecting Latin Sees in the Provinces which they occupied; directly contrary to the main principle of the Canon Law, that there cannot be

two Bishops in one See. The greater portion also of the Latin Clergy were men of shameful conduct. So completely did the Latin domination crush the Oriental Christians, that we discover no token of their existence except in the oppressions they sustained. We never hear their voice otherwise than in their groans. Merely in a political point of view, such conduct was most unwise: the injuries, and still more the affronts, which the Latins inflicted upon the Orientals, weakened their dominion, and ultimately contributed to the destruction of their power. 1080—1456 1080—1095

§ 29. As between the Eastern and the Western Churches, the only effect of the Crusades was to widen the breach between Latin and Greek, so as now to render it impassable. We believe that the Grand Signor and Sultan, Abdul Medschid, is acting entirely in good faith; but his late Firmaun for the toleration of native Protestant Giaours might pass for a Machiavellian stroke of policy. The Moslem has now the satisfaction of witnessing additional discord. The only recollections the Latins left behind them in Syria were horror and detestation. Saracen mothers used to frighten their children by telling them that King Richard was coming to eat them up. Amongst the Native Christians these feelings are still more vivid—with them the wounds are quite raw even at this very day. Detriment resulting to Religion from the Crusades.

1080—1456 We can recollect that when the conflagration of
the Church of the Holy Sepulchre made it needful
1080—1095 to repair and restore the Structure, the Greeks immediately availed themselves of the opportunity to destroy the tomb of Godfrey of Bouillon, the humiliating monument commemorating the injuries they had sustained.

The Crusades contaminated the Faith of Western Christendom. Even under ordinary circumstances, we have evident testimony that a journey to Jerusalem is a perilous experiment, one which usually answers either very well or very ill, either much to the Traveller's improvement or to his detriment. In the course of the first Crusade we discover a crime, which on the whole, was very rare in the mediæval Church, wilful and deliberate fraud. The revelation of the Holy Lance was acknowledged to be a cheat in the very Camp where the event happened, and the most profligate of the profligate priests amongst the Crusaders protested energetically against the imposture. The scene of the Soldier-Saints appearing clad in white armour during the battle of Antioch was evidently a contrivance, probably Bohemond's. How greatly these deceptions must have promoted secret infidelity it is unnecessary to remark: we find accordingly the great outbreak of scoffing heresy and impiety immediately after the Crusades, and particularly amongst a class who are supposed to have been

much influenced by these wars, the Troubadours. The Manichæan blasphemies, the Gnostic delusions superstitions and follies, of the Albigenses, the Vaudois, the Stedingers, the Gazzari, the Cathari, the Paterini, the Sonderlings, and other similar heretics, were probably much encouraged by the intercourse with the Orientals. And though the influence of secret societies has been exaggerated, we cannot disbelieve in their existence. The cruel punishments inflicted upon the Templars have occasioned a natural revulsion of feeling in their favour, but we dare not pronounce them innocent. 1080—1456 1080—1095

§ 30. The deterioration of faith was accompanied by great corruption of morals: the luxury of Byzantium was inordinate; the City, the seat of unbounded vice, the Palais Royal of mediæval Christendom. The Eastern Christians in general were effeminate and lax, and the Latins, whilst they exceedingly despised the Orientals for their effeminacy, absorbed with alacrity all the depravity Syria could impart. Whatever small benefit might, under certain circumstances, be derived from pilgrimages to holy places, was as nearly as possible lost to the Crusaders. We have seen the opinions of St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Boniface, upon this subject, how they would have reprobated Pope Urban's proceedings. Nay more, the whole conception of a true

Deterioration of Morals consequent upon the Crusades.

1080—1456 pilgrimage was completely obliterated by the Crusades. A pilgrim had to go humble and lowly,
1080—1095 barefooted and poor, patient and penitent, to seek holy men and means of grace and contrition, and to be constantly occupied in mental prayer: whereas, the Crusaders of high degree, Princes, Counts, and Knights and Barons went forth in all their pride and power, pursuing their ordinary course of life, only under another name: they journeyed on with hawk and hound—literally so—and the vast herd of their followers gave themselves up to plunder and debauchery: wild vagrants, with scarcely any other object except that of bettering their condition, escaping restraint, and indulging their passions with unlimited freedom. The development of the various mischiefs, abuses and iniquities engendered by the Crusades, would be, in a great measure, to write the history of the Church, and to trace, until our own times, the progress of European Civilization.

Ecclesiastical abuses resulting from the Crusades detrimental to the authority and character of the Church.

§ 31. Through the principles which the Crusades evolved, the ancient discipline of the Church, as the Censor of public morals, gradually fell into desuetude. Her collective power decayed; the system of plenary indulgences being as injurious to morality as the doctrine proved destructive of the authority by which it was propounded. The Confessor and the Director feebly supplied the place of Catholic cogency.

Out of the Crusades, arose those financial extortions, which rendered the Papal authority odious throughout Christendom. The impositions which the Pope laid upon ecclesiastical property, the Saladine tenth, exacted for the purpose of recovering Jerusalem from the noble and magnanimous son of Ayub, well nigh expelled Urban's successors from the city of the Seven Hills. The Crusades brought on the Reformation. Urban set Tetzel in movement when he opened his market for sin—Urban began the rent which in Leo's golden days tore the Western Church asunder. There are two statues in the Narthex of the glorious Basilica of St. Peter —the Prince of the Apostles, the Founder of the Universal See,—and Constantine, claimed as the originator of her temporal Sovereignty. A third is wanting—let the Pontiff add Martin Luther. Had not the Dominican Monk been appointed to cauterize the Church, it would seem that she must have sunk under the poison of her own corruptions: the chastisement preserved her vitality. 1080—1456 1080—1095

§ 32. Such was the origin of the first great European colony.—The system which the Crusades engendered, has encreased the material resources and riches of the world, to a vast, yet measurable extent. Imports and exports, tributes and revenues, mines and minerals, mountains and forests, land and water, may all be told up and reckoned in figures and numerals; but the European colonization.

1080—1456 sufferings which these acquisitions have brought upon mankind are immeasurable. The Statist 1080—1095 takes no account of anguish : there is no column for "misery" in his tables.—Hear the story of European Civilization from Those who have witnessed the results; from Those who amidst the exulting cheers of their countrymen, are going forth to pour out the Vial of Woe upon Regions hitherto partially spared.

What says the past? Nations prosperous, hospitable, happy, confiding in our honour and integrity, extirpated; their arts, their very languages lost; the bold and warlike Hunters withered before the contagious example of the White man; their Tribes dispersed, their wretched remnants brutalized and outcast. What says the present? Powerful Governments, found by the European rich, active, thriving, and industrious, now decomposed by treachery, bribery, and intrigue: their territories wrung from them by the Treaty extorted under the Cannon's mouth, their vices encouraged, their virtues repressed, their energies paralyzed or rendered desperate.

There is no phenomenon of human nature more unaccountable to the Physiologist than the disappearance of ancient diseases, succeeded by the development of others more widely and malignantly destructive. An analogy may be found in the leprosies of the soul; for without in any degree assenting to the truly vulgar notions

of the amelioration or the deterioration of Human nature since the Fall, it is entirely consistent with Revelation to believe that in the world's later ages the snares of the Deceiver are multiplied, and his wiles invested with encreased seductiveness. That man should replenish the earth, is the command of the Creator; but amidst the exceeding complexity of the causes which are drenching the Families and Nations with more bitter wretchedness, one Fact, and one Doctrine are pre-eminent,—the Fact is the migration of the European Races into climates where their frame is unfitted for the actual cultivation of the soil—the Doctrine is the proposition, the organic principle of Civilization, that the knowledge and industry of civilized man entitle him to usurp from their possessors all the lands allotted by our common Father to the Races ignorant of the arts or the habits of civilized life. 1080—1456 1080—1095

The Fact inevitably leads to the slavery of "imperfectly civilized," "uncivilized," "savage," or "aboriginal" races,—the Doctrine, as inevitably, to their degradation and extinction.

It is claimed as the indefeasible prerogative of civilized man, to whom God has granted knowledge, intellect, wealth, strength, and power, that he should therefore be entitled to persecute, subdue, expel, exterminate, and destroy, for his own profit and advantage, all the Races to whom these gifts have been denied. Truly, when thus

1080—1456 directed, "Knowledge is power," power to commit the deepest crime. The *Razzia* con-
1080—1095 sumes the Arab, and the *Commando* the Caffre, in the name of civilization. Our Statesmen with one accord repudiate and deny the principle that "religion, morality, or expediency" impart to the Savage any right to the lands which that Savage enjoys by the dispensation of Him to whom the fulness of the Earth belongs: for the very designation of *Autochthon* conveys the highest idea of right which language can bestow. The Aboriginal Inhabitant is the only inhabitant concerning whom it may be affirmed with entire certainty, that he has been guided into the islands of the sea by the immediate dispensation of Divine Providence.

There are many degrees in oppression, from the mere arrogance which insults the feelings and prejudices of the protected Hindoo, to the extinction of the Aboriginal Savage.

Is the meaning of that word 'Extinction' understood? Contemplate one example. Newfoundland, when the Anglo-Saxon first established himself upon Cabot's discovery, was peopled by a primeval race, who *subsisted* partly by hunting and partly by *fishing*. They were extremely numerous, active and ingenious, and the island was intersected by fences, each extending thirty miles and more, which they had constructed for the purpose of enclosing and

conducting the deer to the stations of capture. 1080—1456
In proportion as our colonization encreased, the
coast was occupied by civilized man, and the 1080—1095
natives prevented from resorting to the water—
if they appeared, they were shot. In proportion
also as cultivation expanded inward, the deer
were diminished and destroyed, and if the starving
Savages approached our Settlements they were
shot. It was considered a meritorious act to
shoot an Indian. Somewhat about twenty years
ago, the last Man and last Woman of the Abo-
riginal race who had crept to the shore during
the night to pick up fish from the rocks, were
shot on the beach of Nôtre Dame Bay; the Man
was hit by the bullet when supporting his dying
Wife, and they dropped dead side by side.

We arrive again at the inexplicable moral problem of collective and hereditary culpability. How long the guilt of each generation may be permitted to cleave to their children and children's children, is inscrutable.—Sufficient for us is it to know that if repentance be possible in a people, the fierce anger may be turned away.—But repentance must precede pardon.—If it be sacrilegious to take away from God's service that which has been consecrated and set apart for His worship and glory, may there not be greater sin in attempting to hallow the earnings of national injustice? David would not give to the Lord the threshing-floor which cost him nothing:

1080—1456 we give Him the fruits of wrong and robbery. If
1080—1095 we raise the Altar in possessions thus acquired, ought we not to begin by the Psalmist's prayer—"Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities.—Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God—Then will I teach transgressors Thy ways; and sinners shall be converted unto Thee."

CHAPTER XI.

ROBERT THE CRUSADER.

1096—1100.

§ 1. THE schism in the Latin Church produced a corresponding effect upon the disposition of Western Christendom towards the Crusade. The Expedition did not possess the absolute and undeniable sanction of Catholicity. Whoever attended the Council of Clermont, convened by Pope Urban, acknowledged Urban's legitimacy. To use the technical phraseology of the Herald, "*Urban gave, Argent a plain Cross, gules.*" The Cross was Urban's armorial bearing or badge, not the symbol of Christianity: and in the eyes of the Crusaders the Cross presented no more real religious sentiment than when displayed in our Union Standard. Who thinks of the Cross, who sees it, when the flag waves on the Mast-head, the Rampart, or the Factory: until they are told that the Cross is there?—Let us accept this explanation, when we contemplate the enormities perpetrated by those who took the Sign.—Urban's private object, his Legate heading the enterprize, was the expulsion of the Anti-Pope Clement, and the restoration of his power in

1096—1100. Party character of the Crusade—Urban II. against Clement III. composed, with few exceptions, of Urban's adherents.

1096—1100 the metropolitan city of the Christian world. Unquestionably, Urban, a good and wise man, though not very clear-sighted or very simple-minded, was the rightful Pontiff, yet his countenance rendered the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre a party question: a bad omen—a taint which more or less affected every subsequent Crusade. We can find none clear from political motives or party enmity, till at last, History shows us a Pope directing a Crusade actually and avowedly against the person of a Competitor.—Another Urban against another Clement,—Bartolomeo Prignano against Robert of Geneva. This was the last scandal of the Crusades: as they began, so they ended. The sowers of the wind reap the whirlwind.

Crusade proclaimed (1383) by Urban VI. against Clement VII.

No one, therefore, who supported the Anti-Pope, or who wished to preserve neutrality, would join, unless urged by some very strong personal feeling. The three principal Sovereigns of Western Christendom: Henry the Emperor, Urban's deadly foe: Rufus, cautiously negociating with him; and Philip, separated from the Church by her censures, all kept entirely aloof. The Swabian, Thuringian, Franconian and Saxon *nations* of Germany stigmatized the Crusade as madness and folly. In Italy, the various Communities and Fiefs which recognized the Emperor were equally adverse to the Crusade: therefore all those who assumed the Cross (if not

Crusaders upon principle or for profit) consisted either of declared Urbanites, or seceders from the Imperialist, Guibertine or Clementine Party, detached by some peculiar interest, or by their connexion with the Leaders or Promoters of the Enterprize. 1096—1100

The interests which brought the chief Crusaders together.

It is to this very important characteristick that we must now direct our attention, namely, the composition of the constituent Party, the interests or connexions by or through whom the Expedition was collected and vivified. If we take the map of Europe, and describe the crusading influence according to the terminology of more recent Geography, we may say that the main strength was found in the following territories: the Netherlands generally, Lorraine and Luxembourg, Picardy, the Isle of France, Artois, Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Anjou, Poitou, Champagne, Burgundy, the Lyonnais, Auvergne, Languedoc and Provence, and a sprinkling from the Ecclesiastical Sovereignties on the left Bank of the Rhine. This would include the Staff and *élite*, so to speak, of the Crusading forces; but the enumeration fails to convey any accurate idea of the process by which the Crusaders were mustered. The attracting powers which drew the Crusaders together were neither national nor moral, but personal—man working upon man, immediate individual influences and interests.

In discussing the Crusades, we have heard

1096–1100 them designated as "a Phase of human Society:" "a Phase of human Society,"—what does the thing signify? These expressions, which are neither abstract nor metaphorical, but may be included in either category, are the means of delusion or the symbols of truth. Very delusive, when employed currently and glibly, merely for convenience or to spare the trouble of thought. We all use combinations of sounds when we are speaking against time or filling our paper—there are many occasions in which nobody can dispense with them. They are still more deceptively plausible, when invoked according to the fashion of Parliamentary orators for the purpose of evading any examination of principle; but if we wish to form, or teach others to form, any sound judgment upon the right or the wrong, and not to make believe, we must sweep away the cobwebs, and deal simply with reality.

Penetrate into the deep import of your verbal symbols. Recollect that in every consideration relating to human nature, each individual soul is the subjective centre of a universe; and then the symbols become the most useful engines of thought. The word Society is the symbol of individuals, each responsible for the acts which he commits or permits, the obedience or the disobedience, moulding his character to receive the blessing or the curse. When the rush of the blast whitens the foliage masses of the Black poplar-

tree, it is the upturning of each separate leaf which has changed the general hue. The "Phase of human Society" is the aggregate of the acts committed or permitted by individuals, manifested and disclosed through their importance and multitude, forcing themselves before the light: nothing mystical, nothing recondite, but always worked by the same machinery and according to the same scheme. 1096—1100

If ever any state of Society existed which could be thought essentially different from our own, it was under the Theocracy of Israel. The Almighty testifying his Presence by signs and tokens;—the Eternal Father revealed as the immediate Sovereign;—the fruits of the earth encreased three-fold, by the blessing which He commanded upon the Eve of each Sabbatical year;—the unerring Lot, cast into the lap, and dragging forth the concealed Transgressor or Criminal;—the Answer given by the Prophet or the Ephod. Yet those who gathered themselves unto David in the cave of Adullam, were no other than the various classes assembled round the Popular Leader yesterday or to-day: and without the influence of the Leader exercised man-ward, as in every similar State-revolution, how would David's Kingdom have been founded?

In order, therefore, to obtain a searching knowledge of the Crusade, we shall deal with the Holy War as people are accustomed to discuss

1096—1100

any great undertaking. If you look over the list, for example, of any voluntary association, no matter for what purpose, you see at once how the individual interest of this or that Patron, President, Governor, Director, or other Office-bearer, has operated in bringing the members together; and through these individual influences the Association is founded.

The Lorraine interest or party.

§ 2. Marshalling the Host according to this principle, we must place at their head the Banner of Lorraine. All things considered, station, personal character, and predetermination, Godfrey gave the greatest support to the Crusade. Born and bred to be their Captain, the opulent and powerful Princes who circled round him constituted the heart of the Army. Ruling on the borders of Capetian France, predominant in the Marches of the Empire, Godfrey exerted authority and persuasion over both Realms; and if any Vassals or States beneath the Imperial Crown contributed or aided their movement, in opposition to the political and religious feelings prevailing amongst the Germans, was due chiefly to his persuasion. From the Rhine to the borders of Normandy, a force was raised, more compact, energetic and wealthy, than any other regions could supply. All Godfrey's kinsmen rallied round him.

Godfrey of Bouillon.

His brothers and immediate kinsmen.

Nearest to Godfrey, his brothers—Eustace, the elder, who succeeded to the County of Bou-

logne, afterwards married to Mary of Scotland, daughter of Margaret and of Malcolm, the father-in-law of Stephen of Blois, the Conqueror's nephew and King of England. 1096—1100

Baldwin, the younger brother of Godfrey, had been destined for Holy Orders: well educated and well taught, he held many Prebends in the Churches of Rheims, Cambrai, and Liège; but, marrying Godechilda, daughter of Ralph de Toeny and Isabel de Montfort, he cast off the sacerdotal habit, if indeed the obligation was ever really assumed by him.—For we suspect that, according to the lax practice resulting from the system of investiture, he held his good pieces of preferment as an untonsured clerk. The four Baldwins.

This is the Baldwin whose *cupido ingegno* is held up to reprobation by the Bard. Godechilda, whom he espoused, had just been repudiated by the Prudhome, Robert de Beaumont, Count of Mellent, then contemplating a more ambitious alliance.

Another Baldwin, Godfrey's cousin, was Baldwin du Bourg, the son of Hugh Count of Rêthel, one of the Seven Peers of Champagne. This County afterwards devolved to the House of Burgundy. Those who have seen the magnificent tomb of Philippe le Hardi at Dijon, will recollect the *armoiries parlantes* of Rêthel, the *Rastel* or Rake, emblazoned amongst the quarterings upon the Ducal robe.

1096—1100 A third Baldwin was the son of Henry or Hescelin Grandpré, also one of the Seven Peers of Champagne.

A fourth is Baldwin of Hainault or Mons, nephew of Robert the Frison, and the husband of Ida of Louvaine. In this noble *Schiera* we find two future Counts of Edessa, and three Kings of Jerusalem;—and nigh them stands Conan of Montaigu in the Ardennes, Godfrey's Brother-in-law, the husband of his sister, who also bears his Mother's honoured name.

Ebles de Roucy, the third of the Seven Peers of Champagne who took the Cross, coming in upon the Hauteville interest, was also affected by Godfrey's connexions, being of the Lorraine family.

Proceeding with the Lorraine array, we now meet Alberic of Namur, who owned Godfrey as feudal Lord, and prided himself on his very close connexion with the Lorraine family: for though not of Lorraine blood, he was the brother of Oda, the first wife of Godfrey le Barbu, Duke of Lohier and grandmother of Godfrey of Bouillon by the female side. Through Oda, her grandson obtained the Sovereignty.

Dependencies of the County of Boulogne. Furthermore, Count Arnolph of Ardres.—Hugh de Champ d'Avoine or Campdavaine, Count of St. Paul, with his son Enguerrand, a young man of great and undisappointing promise.—The two sons of Baldwin, Count of

Guisnes.—Manasses, godson of Robert the Frison and husband of Emma, daughter of Robert Tancarville, and widow of Odo of Folkstone, and Fulco, who in the Holy Land became Count of Berytus.—The Seigneuries of St. Paul, Guisnes, and Ardres were severally members of the County of Boulogne: their Lords were all connected by consanguinity or marriage, and their names transport us to a scene far gayer and brighter than any which the Crusades exhibited, the Chivalric Field of the Cloth of Gold. 1096–1100

Moreover, Dudon de Conti, the *Dudone di Consa* to whom Tasso has allotted an entire stanza, which, considering how many warriors, far more distinguished, have been past over in the Epic (we scarcely hear anything concerning Dudon in the Great Folio of the Crusades), is a whimsical example of poetical injustice.—Garnier or Werner Count of Grai, Renaud Count of Toul, Peter his brother,—and some others, principally from the confines of the Teutonic and Romane tongues.

Predominance of the Lorraine and Flemish interests in the Oriental Colonies of the Latins.

The Lorraine and Hainault interests, amalgamating with the Flemish interest properly so called, as well as with the Norman interest, long continued predominant in the great Oriental colony. Hence the very close connexion between the East and the Belgic Provinces of Gaul. All the Kings of Jerusalem belonged to the Lorraine, Hainault, or Flemish interests either by descent

1096—1100 or marriage; and Baldwin, sixth of Hainault and ninth of Flanders was the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople.

After the transient and unhealthy prosperity exhibited by the French interest, many Mediterranean relics and fragments of the Eastern Empire became vested in the triumphant Republic of Venice, and, by a strange contingency, we are now her heirs. The British Lion has seized the prey dropped by the Lion of San Marco; and the Queen of the British Empire, Protector of the Ionian Isles, is, through the Queen of the Adriatic, the direct successor of the Crusaders.

The Hauteville interest.

§ 3. For the foregoing reasons we have placed the Lorraine array at the head of the Host, yet the Bands commanded by Bohemond must be considered as very nearly equal in importance with the divisions which follow Godfrey. In these Battalions were found not only the originators of the scheme, but the main flanking forces of the army.

Extent and influence of the Hauteville connexions.

Great indeed was the power resulting from those Hauteville alliances previously detailed: some of the wives were dead and others divorced, but such incidents did not much disturb the friendship and harmony of families. Robert, Count of Flanders, Raymond of St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, William, Count of Clermont, Aymeric of Narbonne, Ebles de Roucy, and all their vassals and adherents,—Tancred,—Roger de Barneville, whom Tasso places *fra gli egregi*, partly, per-

haps, because his name, euphonized into *Rug-* 1096—1100
gier di Barnevilla, helps the rhythm of a well-sounding line,—Ivo and Alberic de Grantmesnil;—Anselm de Ribeaumont, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter,—the Houses of Giroie, Toeny, Eu and Evreux; all belonging to the Hautevilles by marriage or intermarriage, and all their friends and kinsmen complicated with them through the concatenations of the Norman pedigrees;—the minuter ramifying fibres conveying their quota of nourishment, fully as useful in any important enterprize as the main roots by which it is upheld—the small shareholders in a great speculation—the absence of individual consequence being compensated by aggregate value: every name gained being a clear gain.

Bohemond's particular associates.

Amidst the general Hauteville interest, we must nevertheless distinguish Bohemond's peculiar associates. Tancred falls into this class: at first he was reluctant, but Bohemond persuaded him, though with difficulty.—Richard the Norman Lord of Principata, and Ralph his brother, both sons of William-bras-de-fer, Guiscard's brother.—A selection also of Norman and French adventurers. Robert d'Anse and Robert de Sourdeval, we believe from Caen;—Robert Fitz-Thurstan, Herman de Cogny, and Humphrey Fitz-Ralph; three or four others of minor note,—and, though not a Warrior, yet to us far more

1096—1100 important, Ralph of Caen, Tancred's Chaplain, who dilates in prose and verse upon his Patron's deeds of high emprize.

The great Norman interest under Courthose.

§ 4. Then the general Norman interest, properly so called,—we mean those who were not immediately comprehended in the Hauteville sphere,—at their head, Robert Courthose. Robert certainly was absent from the Council of Clermont, but jaded by his excesses, and seemingly despairing of being able to regain any influence, he roused himself to take the Cross.

Robert's motives.

Devotion found no place in Robert's character: other motives impelled him; much restlessness, a fine, though spoilt disposition, still struggling against the enervation of debauchery, transient starts of activity; probably also the wish to marry advantageously before wrinkles and a grey beard should lessen his chance—there was one Lady at least beyond the Alps upon whom he formerly reckoned,—all combined.

Robert also felt degraded, worried, and humbled in his own dominions. His brother Henry bullied him in Domfront and the Côtentin; and by Rufus, he was overshadowed in all the other Bailliages. Never had Robert's weaknesses been so apparent. Even those who would have wished to love and like him, in consequence of his innate good temper and kindness, felt that his presence was absolutely injurious to the public welfare. No prospect, as it seemed, of restoring tranquillity

and good order except by the Duke's removal. 1096—1100
Had Robert shared in the old pious spirit of his ancestor William Longue-épeé, he would have retired to a monastery. Abdication in those times was usually accompanied by religious seclusion, perhaps the most satisfactory mode of descending from a throne:—but for this submission of spirit, Robert had no heart, and he determined to proceed to Palestine, a course offering an acceptable compromise. Three close and intimate companions had Robert Courthose. His good sons, Richard and William, were equally affectionate, but Richard the active huntsman continued at home to watch his father's interests: William accompanied his Parent. This is the William whom the Poet of the Crusade, with pardonable error, describes as the King of England's son, bestowing upon him the command of the contingent from the British islands.

Robert's companions,—his son William, Odo of Bayeux, and Arnolph Mala Corona.

"Maggior' alquanto è lo squadron Britanno
Guglielmo il regge, al Rè minor figliuolo:
Sono gli Inglesi saggitarii, ed hanno
Gente con lor ch' è più vicino al polo,
Questi dall' alte selve hirsuti manda
La divisa dal mondo ultima Irlanda."

Odo of Bayeux joined Robert, actuated by analogous feelings. Nephew and Uncle were both discontented. Odo could no longer continue in Normandy with credit or comfort: he had fallen into great disrepute.—"There goes the Bishop who prostituted his functions by marrying adulterous

1096—1100 Philip to adulterous Bertrada—Fie on him!"—Odo dreaded the vengeance of Rufus, that vengeance so recently wreaked upon Eu and Mowbray. He recollected the cramps of the prison in which he had been kept by the Conqueror; and Rufus was as little inclined to respect ecclesiastical immunities as to be mitigated by affection. Although Odo was old, he was still active and vigorous, glad to avail himself of any opportunity to exchange crozier for spear. The third of Robert's companions was Arnolph, the family Tutor who had so ably conducted the education of Cecilia, Robert's sister. Arnolph was more learned than wise. They called him Mala-Corona, in consequence of his dissolute and unclerical conduct; but he had kept up his knowledge: his talent was undiminished, and he stood high in Robert's confidence and favour. Either Arnolph's worthlessness had been so very notorious as to debar him from preferment in England or Normandy, or he did not like the small restraint which ecclesiastical dignity imposed. Perhaps he anticipated that he might find a situation to suit him in Palestine, the Colony.

Stephen of Albemarle and Holdernesse. Rotrou of Mortagne, &c.

Stephen of Albemarle and Holdernesse, though a man of excellent character, also became a Crusader for the purpose of removing away from trouble. He did not consider himself safe at home. Although he had not appeared actively in arms against Rufus, still he was

liable to great suspicion from the manner in which he had been produced as a Pretender. Others of this Norman connexion, not included amongst the Hauteville followers, were Rotrou Count of Mortagne (also influenced by his Roucy connexion),—Philip the brother of Robert de Belesme,—and also Robert de Belesme's famous but nameless Engineer who battered the walls of Jerusalem,—Gautier de St. Valery, Duke Richard's grandson,—Ralph de Beaugency, who married a daughter of Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois,—Gerard de Gournay the Norman Baron, and in England Lord of Caister nigh Yarmouth. There are contradictory accounts concerning Gerard: some say he came home safe during the Crusade, and returned to Palestine, taking with him his wife Editha, daughter of the Earl of Warrenne. At all events, Editha was with Gournay in the Holy Land when he died. The Lady survived, and found another husband in Palestine. The preponderance of re-married mediæval widows is very remarkable: whether persuaded or compelled, sweetly yielding or more sweetly reluctant, they rarely continued in their weeds. 1096—1100

Several distinguished Bretons joined the standard of Normandy,—Alan Fergant,—Conan, son of Count Geoffrey,—Riou de Loheac,—and old Ralph Guader, whilome Earl of Norfolk, of whom we have heard little since his expulsion Breton Crusaders join the Normans.

1096-1100 from Norwich Castle. There used to be an antiquarian fancy that Norwich Keep was modelled from the Tower of David at Jerusalem.

Stephen of Blois and his connexions.

Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, father of our king Stephen, the poet, the orator, the witty, amiable and wise in Council, the Conqueror's son-in-law, was the ornament and pride not only of the Norman party, but of the whole army. None so cheerful, so elegant, so pleasing. Deficient in nerve and resolution, his reluctance yielded to the objugations of his wife, the talented Adela, truly her father's daughter. Adela dearly loved her husband, but she would not let him rest; she was crazed for glory, and brought him to his death by this passion. Stephen was followed by Jourdain de Pruilly, Count of Vendôme in right of his wife Euphrosyne. Jourdain himself was the son of Geoffroi de Pruilly, who, according to a loose tradition, was the inventor of Heraldic Tournaments: one of those assertions which astound us by what we dare not call absurdity, seeing the gravity of the authorities by whom the opinion is maintained.

Helias de la Flèche, William of Poitou, and Fulk Réchin.

Our old friend Helias de la Flèche, who had so many Norman friends and also so many Norman enemies, desired to take the Cross. Certainly actuated by sincere devotion, Helias was one of the very few whom we can imagine calculated to find improvement in the camp of the Crusaders.—William, Count of Poitou, the

Troubadour, was enticed to Palestine under a very different inspiration; he would depart featly and gallantly, the gay portrait of Countess Mauberge smiling on his shield, seeking excitement and pleasure, *pour engigner dames et damoiselles*, according to his custom; and also to find subjects for his Muse.—Old Fulk Réchin thought of going also, probably in a kindred mood: moreover he was a friend of Baldwin du Bourg. 1096—1100

§ 5. Hugh of Vermandois, Hugh le Grand, brother of King Philip, seems to have been determined to the Crusade by a variety of concurrent circumstances, which thus induced him to contrariate his family-feeling. The geographical position of the fine territory which Hugh had acquired by his marriage with Adela, heiress of the original Counts of Vermandois, probably furnished the most important motive. If we consult the map, we see that Vermandois is completely surrounded by Crusading countries, placing the Count under the influence of Lorraine, Champagne, Normandy, and Flanders: Hugh was enveloped by the Crusading atmosphere, and intimately acquainted with all the Princes and Baronage. Adela his wife was also a descendant of Charlemagne. A distinguished kinsman shines brightly through the remotest regions of space, and Hugh, pompous and inflated by vain-glory, may probably have considered himself bound to vindicate the Imperial honour. The Vermandois interest.

1096—1100 Hugh le Grand's retainers who accompanied him were mostly involved in crusading connexions; but particularly the excellent Anselm de Ribeaumont, the Castellan of Valenciennes (and thus in the Flemish interest),—and also husband of Agnes de Roucy, the daughter of Ebles de Roucy, by Sibylla de Hauteville. Anselm was killed in Palestine, and his Widow is conjectured by some genealogists to have been the Agnes de Ribeaumont who became the wife of Walter Gifford, Earl of Buckingham. According to Ordericus however she was Anselm's sister: any how we shall hear more of her hereafter as Gifford's Widow, seeking another husband. All we know of Anselm de Ribeaumont, whose character bears some resemblance to that of Eustace de Ribeaumont in after times, leads to the supposition that he was a true Pilgrim of the Cross, humble and pious.

William Viscount of Melun, ycleped *the Hammerer*, from the heavy blows which he dealt, the cousin of Hugh de Vermandois;—Drogo de Mounceaux, a Knight of the Beauvoisin, who in due time comforted Editha, the relict of Gerard de Gournay, (Drogo's name, changed by the Picard pronunciation into *Mounchy* or *Mouchi*, is retained unaltered in the English possessions of his family, Hurst Mounceaux and Compton Mounceaux);—Clerembaud de Vendeuil;—Everard de Puisieux and Thomas de la Fer, or de Marle,

all followers of Vermandois, came in also upon the same interest. The latter, Thomas de Marle (who was then so called in right of his mother), very noble and highly connected, had also a Lorraine connexion, being married to Ida, daughter of Baldwin of Hainault, and widow of Guy de Chievres. He was the son of Engueraud de Couci, and ultimately his successor. What title so chastely proud as that which distinguished him?— 1096—1100

> Roi, ne Duc, ne Prince, je suis,
> Je suis le Sire de Couci.

Sorely did Thomas disgrace the lineage of Couci. He was atrociously wicked, and resorted to the Crusade for the purpose of avoiding the vengeance which he deserved for his crimes; but the punishment reached him at last, he died miserably, branded with infamy.—Launcelin de Baugency, married to Matilda, the daughter of Count Hugh, did not join his father-in-law, but, as a Manceau, kept with Courthose and the Norman party.

§ 6. Urban's influence, derived from station,— Head of the Church, Leader of the party,—acted more or less upon every one who accepted the Cross; but his personal influence was also considerable. In his own native country, the people followed him enthusiastically; and although the three Peers of Champagne, Ebles de Roucy, Baldwin de Grandpré, and Baldwin of Rethel, Urban's interest conjoins to the interest of Peter the Hermit.

1096—1100 the future King of Jerusalem, were brought to the Crusade through other connexions, yet those connexions cannot fail to have been strengthened by their provincial relation to Urban; and the same feelings prevailed through the adjoining districts. It is difficult also to distinguish between such influence as Peter the Hermit may have exercised upon the higher classes, by his electric power, and the direction given by Urban; but one way or another, we attribute to this connexion the acquisition for the Crusade of William, Count of the Forez. He was also, it must be remarked, the bordering neighbour of the Count of Clermont.

The Orange connexions.

In the South, Urban's missionary exertions coalesced with the interests of the Narbonne family. Raimbold of Orange, who took the Cross, was a friend of Raimond of St. Gilles. As far as romantic ideas had any effect, and we are not inclined to deny their suggestiveness, they may have tended to advance the crusading interest in this Principality. The ancient Sovereign of the country, *Guillaume au Court-nez*, thus distinguished by an epithet which in our minds detracts so much from any poetical idea, was the legendary pattern of the devotional soldier; and hence Hugh Lupus employed the Geste of William of Orange in the education of the aspirants whom he trained in the Palatine Castle of the Dee.

Ademar de Monteuil, Bishop of Puy-en-Velay, Urban's confidential friend, whom he appointed Legate, the spiritual Commander of the Crusade, appertained to this Orange family. Ademar was an old soldier, and his strategic skill proved most useful to the army. William, Bishop of Orange, also went, Ademar's Lieutenant, holding the Papal Commission as Vice-Legate: the stout Prelates fought in good earnest. It has been maintained that the Legate did not actually engage in warfare: we are told by modern writers, he only assisted the Crusaders by his experience and his prayers. But the contemporary historians plainly describe Ademar's military co-operation in clear and unequivocal terms—and why should they have any reserve? They were proud of his prowess, and so were Ademar's successors—the Sword conjoined to the Pastoral staff was adopted as an honourable augmentation to the armorial bearing of the See. A very peculiar pectoral made of fur, worn by the Canons of the Cathedral at certain festivals and thought to resemble a cuirass, was traditionally considered also as a memorial of the achievements which Tasso commemorates; the stern necessity of verse compelling the Bishop of Puy-en-Velay to yield precedency in the stanza to his helmetted brother.

1096—1100

The fighting Bishops, Ademar of Puy, Papal Legate, and William, Bishop of Orange, Vice-Legate.

Poi due pastor de' popoli spiegaro
Le insegne lor, Guglielmo ed Ademaro.

1096—1100

L'uno e l'altro di lor', che ne' divini
Uffici già trattò pio ministero,
Sotto l'elmo premendo i lunghi crini
Essercita de l'arme hor l'uso fiero.
Da la Città d'Orange e da i confini
Quattro cento guerrier' scelse il primiero,
Ma guida quei di Poggio in guerra l'altro
Numero egual, non men ne l'arme scaltro.

Other similar strong-fisted blood-shedding Clergy, appeared foremost in the Latin ranks, exciting great disgust amongst the Oriental Christians. Lax as the Greeks were, they could not tolerate this desecration of the sacerdotal character. Morals, like manners, are governed by custom: fashions and conventionalities affect even our estimation of crimes.

Together with the merry Crusaders of the *Languedoc*, employing that term in its largest geographical sense, was William Jordan, Count of Cerdegna, the intimate of Raymond Berenger. —Gerard de Roussillon, William de Montpellier, and William Amaneu probably enter into the same category. The Provençals were not much esteemed, but they swelled the host.

German and Italian.

§ 7. Of pure German Chieftains, very few indeed can be discerned: they were amongst the worst rabble of the Crusaders—Godschalk, a vagabond priest, Volkmar, a Rauber Graff, a Graff Herman, and another Graff who is called Emicon; but the latter never did any mischief in the Holy Land, being slain as a brigand some-

where near Worms on the Rhine. This Emicon was desperately cruel: long afterwards it was believed that his vampire corpse rode about by night, tormented in a suit of red-hot armour. There may have been one Italian, the dubious Rinaldo. 1096—1100

§ 8. Many literary characters, for we are fully entitled to designate them by the modern expression, were enrolled amongst the Crusaders. —Those whom we can positively distinguish constitute a very curious and interesting group: there were probably several more, whose works exist in the form of anonymous chronicles or relations, or have been wholly lost. Godfrey of Bouillon himself, may claim the grace which literature bestows. Under the influence of his mother Ida, he was fully instructed, like his brother Baldwin, in the acquirements needed for his rank. The education bestowed upon royal and princely families was universally of a high standard; but, of course, the efforts of Parents or Teachers were aided or counteracted in each particular instance by natural capacity. Peculiar gifts distinguished the Flemish and Norman families. At one period of his life, Godfrey inclined to the priesthood; but circumstances prevented him from receiving Holy Orders. Literary Crusaders. Godfrey's literary acquirements.

The *Assizes of Jerusalem*,—the statutes and laws prevailing in the Latin Colonies,—were first collected by Godfrey; and we doubt not but that,

1096—1100 like other Sovereigns of the age, he took an active share in their redaction. Legislation was part of a King's business; the *Assizes* however do not exist in their original form: we only possess them in the last revision, adapted for the use of the Kingdom of Cyprus in the fourteenth century, by Jean de Ybelin, the Connêtable. Godfrey's eloquence aided his valour; and we

Despatches of the Crusaders dictated by Godfrey of Bouillon.

accept the opinions of the Benedictine Historians, that the various despatches and manifestoes issued in Godfrey's name, or in which he joined, were dictated by the Chieftain whom all honoured and obeyed. These documents have been preserved textually, sincere and genuine. Take as a specimen the following extract from Godfrey's despatch announcing the joyfully triumphant capture of Jerusalem:—*Et si scire desideratis quid de hostibus ibi repertis factum fuerit, scitote quia in porticu Salomonis, et in Templo ejus, nostri equitabant in sanguine Saracenorum usque ad genua equorum.*—Written off in haste, the Epistles and Addresses transmitted to Europe by the Crusaders are uniform in tone and language, bearing the evident impress proceeding from one mind: the mind of the soldier whose sentiments they breathe.

Stephen of Blois.

§ 9. Stephen of Blois was probably fully as much actuated by intelligent curiosity, when he engaged in the Crusade, as by any other motive. His poetic vein and eloquence gave utterance to

his well-cultivated talents. The Count's correspondence with his wife Adela is invested with a value unattainable by set and regular history. Two of his letters are extant, bright, affectionate, rich in information; and he sends to his *Sweet Friend*, his *Dulcis Amica*, full particulars of his personal adventures and proceedings, together with the public news. 1096—1100

§ 10. William Count of Poitiers, the Troubadour, after a protracted delay, assumed the Cross entirely for his own gratification. Many an adventure, many a *bonne fortune* and misfortune, did he find in the East as themes for *Sirvente* and for Lay. Nothing chary of his talent, the Count chanted his compositions to the plaintive notes of his rebeck: the poems are lost, or perhaps lurk in the catacombs of some huge museum or library. Count William was the most admired amongst the Troubadours for his light, sportive fancy, but the Poet's versatility of tone equalled his fluency: his Crusading songs were melancholy and tender, the delight of his Circle when he returned. William of Poitiers.

§ 11. Ademar of Monteuil, Soldier, Bishop, and Legate, also appears amongst the literary Crusaders. He must have studied to good purpose, having been ordained late in life. He composed the Hymn *Salve Regina*, now universally received in the Latin Church.—Ademar's intellectual abilities were usefully employed during Ademar of Monteuil.

1096—1100 the Crusades in his correspondence and his discourses, the mental exertion giving a zest to his other avocations.

Anselm de Ribeaumont: his Correspondence.

§ 12. Generally speaking, a literary spirit arose amongst the Crusaders. Hitherto the writers who had visited the Holy Land, confined themselves solely to sacred topography. Contemplation and devotion guided their pens, not the lively impulse of strenuous enterprize, the foundation of a Colonial Empire.—The interest of the expedition excited the Crusaders to historical narrative: the Travellers longed more than ever to tell their story. The novelty of clime and scenery, earth and sky, their dangers, their vicissitudes, their triumphs, imparted a new stimulus to epistolary composition; and many of the Crusaders transmitted their accounts home. Anselm de Ribeaumont was thus in the habit of communicating with Manasses, Archbishop of Rheims. We possess one of his journalizing letters, extending through a very interesting period, beginning with the siege of Antioch.—It is clear, honest, and pious: no boasting, no exultation, no triumph over the conquered: Anselm earnestly recommends the poor of his domains to the Archbishop, and he ends with requesting prayers on his own behalf. This was the last letter which Anselm wrote, for, to the great grief of the Army, he was soon afterwards slain.

§ 13. This animated correspondence parti-

cipated in all the defects as well as the merits arising from conflicting interests and excited feelings. Few Pilgrims resembled Anselm de Ribeaumont. That many Writers should exaggerate and mistake, and also criticize and blame, was a consequence necessarily ensuing from this freedom of the pen: many also coloured or distorted their narratives for the purpose of concealing their own cowardice, misconduct, or folly.—There were two amongst the Crusaders who took this conduct much to heart; Ponze de Balaon, a Knight, and Raimond de Agilis, a Canon of Ademar's Cathedral, companions in the perils of the Pilgrimage. Ponze de Balaon seems from his name to have been an Angevine or Norman, though he served under Raimond de St. Gilles; and Raimond, the Canon, was the chaplain of his namesake the Tolosan Count, much trusted and consulted on account of his integrity and talent. 1096—1100

Ponze de Balaon and Raimond de Agilis the first Historians of the Crusades.

Ponze and Raimond, vexed by such inaccurate tale-bearers, and zealous for the honour of the Army, agreed that they would write a history of the Crusade, with the avowed intention, however, of dwelling more minutely upon those events in which their Count was particularly concerned. They addressed their journal to Leger, Bishop of Viviers, in order that he might, from time to time, publish the authentic intelligence to the world. Ere the Crusaders had reached Jerusalem, Ponze de Balaon was

1096—1100 killed by a stone, shot from a Balista. Raimond de Agilis, after the death of his faithful and affectionate companion, continued and completed the work: most instructive is the production, exhibiting the conflict between an entire desire on the part of the writer to declare the truth, and the most unresisting credulity.

Peter Tudebode. § 14. Three brothers, of the Tudebode or Tuebœuf family, Arnold, Hervé, and Peter, came from Sivrai in Poitou, probably retainers of Count William the Troubadour. Peter was a Clerk, and though speaking with modesty, he describes himself as the first who projected and composed an Itinerary of the Hierosolymitan War and Pilgrimage,—an eye-witness, who joined the enterprize at the very first, and who continued to the very end. *Credendus est qui primus scripsit, quia in processione primus fuit, et oculis carnalibus vidit.* An entire character of sincerity appears in Peter Tudebode's Work. No one can doubt his veracity. He evidently asserts his claim of priority in good faith, not knowing when he began how he had been anticipated by Ponze de Balaon and Raimond de Agilis.—However, Raimond and Peter certainly afterwards became acquainted with each other. In many places the closest agreement appears between their narratives.

Robertus Monachus, the deposed Abbot of St. Remi. § 15. Robert de St. Remi, a Champenois, flourished under the peculiar protection of Pope

Urban. Educated in the great Monastery of St. Remi at Rheims, we have already noticed his supposed connexion with the Romances of Charlemagne. If there was any place where such traditions would flourish most luxuriously it would be in that singularly venerable monastery. Even the Abbey of St. Denis was not so congenial. Robert subsequently professed at Marmoutier on the Loire, but he continued such a favourite in his old House, St. Remi, that after the death of Abbot Henry he was elected successor. 1096—1100

Bernard, the Abbot of Marmoutier, was displeased with Robert's conduct; and by a very strict exertion of his lawful powers, would not permit him to accept the elevated station then offered to him, unless he, Bernard, should retain the authority of directing, reprimanding, and, as it should seem, suspending Robert from authority, if he should think fit. Abbot Bernard found occasion to exercise this stern discipline. Abbot Robert wasted his monastery's goods, and incurred other irregularities: there is a letter from the Archbishop of Lyons, showing that Bernard was justified in his rigidity. However, Robert attended the Council of Clermont, and appealed to Urban, who absolved him; and he joined the Crusade, and continued in the army till the full completion of the enterprize, attaching himself principally to Bohemond, as well as the Norman

1096—1100 party. Little advantage did Robert gain by participating in the Crusade: the Ex-Abbot quitted Europe with a damaged character, and forfeited the opportunity of re-establishing his reputation in Palestine. Returning, he was not restored to St. Remi, but appointed to the Priory of Senuc; and again misconducting himself, he was again deposed.—These things speak well for the energy of ecclesiastical discipline.

Robert then employed his enforced leisure in composing his *Historia Hierosolymitana* at the request of an unnamed Bishop, who was dissatisfied with some other history that had fallen into his hands. Under this patronage, Robert the Monk, for he could now assume no other description, went to work. He complains that he lacked an amanuensis, apologizes much for the rudeness of his style, and entreats indulgence from those who are better versed in literature.—Writing from recollection, his narrative appears inaccurate: we suspect that in many cases he supplied the want of facts by imagination and invention. Robert le Moine is almost the only historian of the Crusades in whom any marked tendency to the marvellous is found.

Raoul of Caen, Tancred's chronicler.

§ 16. Raoul or Ralph of Caen, a pupil and protégé of Arnolph Malacorona, Duke Robert's Chaplain, joined the Crusades at a very early age, probably under twenty. Raoul, though originally included in the Ducal retinue, was disloyal to

Courthose. In Palestine he still continued enveloped by the party spirit of Normandy. We obtain perhaps more insight into the defects of Robert's character from Raoul's carpings, than from the regular historians. In Apulia, Raoul first attached himself to Bohemond; but he afterwards served under Tancred, and his work is professedly a relation of the deeds of this renowned warrior. Thus doing, he furnishes a remarkable proof how an Historian may neglect to notice important matters, upon the assumption of their being universally known. Great stress is frequently laid, and reasonably, upon negative evidence, yet are we constantly shaken in our argumentations by suspecting, that there is nothing very certain except uncertainty. Ralph of Caen, extolling the dignity of Tancred's father, never mentions that Father's name. This is the only neglect with which Raoul can be charged: in other respects, his biographical memoir is minute, true and lively, and the more satisfactory because the admiring dependant does not seem to be aware that his accurate report would diminish the splendour of the Patron's character.—Very different indeed is Tasso's Tancred from the Tancred of the Norman Clerk. 1096—1100

§ 17. Fulcher of Chartres, a very popular and widely-circulated writer, started for the Crusade under the protection of our Duke Robert and of Stephen of Blois: when in Palestine he Fulcher of Chartres.

1096—1100 transferred himself to the Lorrainers, and became Chaplain to Godfrey of Bouillon. From the service of Godfrey, Fulcher passed to the next Pavilion, serving Baldwin of Boulogne, who continued him in the station of Chaplain. A brave partizan was Fulcher: a man of the camp, a courageous and active soldier. He is peculiarly accurate with respect to dates, in which other Chroniclers are so frequently deficient. Anxious that confidence should be placed in his narrative of facts, he informs his readers that they may trust him as a pilgrim who relates what he saw with his own eyes, diligently and carefully commemorating the incidents, for the information of posterity. Where Fulcher had reason to doubt, he tells you that he doubts, and offers many excuses for the rudeness of his style. These excuses, needless to us, were not accepted by his contemporaries. Fulcher provoked much criticism; and inasmuch as his conscientious attempt to discriminate between truth and falsehood was not accompanied by a corresponding degree of acuteness or judgment, he incurred severe censure by falling into the very errors he most attempted to avoid.

Anonymous Historians, and Historians not personally Crusaders.

§ 18. Concerning the other historians who described the first Crusade, they are either anonymous or did not participate in the pilgrimage, therefore they are generally excluded from our review. Two, however, must be noticed. Our

old friend Ordericus, in constant converse with so many who had shared in the enterprize or were embued with its traditions, includes the principal events of the Crusade in his Norman history, a welcome and important episode. Palestine was as interesting to the Normans, as New England to the Puritan kinsmen of the Pilgrim Fathers. The substratum of his narrative may be traced to written sources which we also possess; but Ordericus gives in addition many curious facts and anecdotes, particularly respecting Bohemond, gained either from correspondence or conversation. The general value of the testimony furnished by Ordericus has not been duly appreciated. An historian of the last century, who is pinched by certain facts resting upon the authority of Ordericus, calls him an "ignorant blundering Monk." Without retorting, we may truly assert that the Lord of Session, who bestows these epithets, was completely ignorant of the opportunities which the Monk enjoyed.

1096—1100

Ordericus Vitalis: advantages which he derived from the traditions of the Crusaders.

Unjust censure bestowed upon Ordericus by Lord Hailes.

The literary Crusaders possess the great recommendation of being parties engaged in the wars which they described; but this, is counterbalanced by the corresponding disadvantage, that with the best opportunities of observation, they could not be impartial observers. They were all involved in the success of the Adventure, all intended honestly to excite an interest in favour of the Crusades. Their object, quite combinable

1096—1100 with earnest zeal and devotion to the cause, was to make the best of the concern. Depending upon public opinion, they courted public opinion, always labouring to justify the Expedition. They were always anxious to vindicate its objects, magnify successes, palliate reverses, and cast the blame of misfortunes upon particular individuals; —this apologetical and laudatory tone was the natural result of the position held by the Reporters, offering a temptation which perhaps no human sincerity can entirely withstand.

Guibert de Nogent.

And here we obtain the aid of an impartial and conscientious Commentator, a contemporary, dwelling in the heart of the districts whence the Crusaders went forth, who obtained access to the best works and documents existing in Europe; and moreover well acquainted with the principal Instigators and Actors, above all, Peter the Hermit. The individual thus qualified was Guibert, Abbot of Nogent. Born of a noble family, losing his Father at an early age, Guibert was left under the care of a pious and intelligent Mother, his obligations to whom he records with equal delicacy and affection in his autobiography, a work suggested by the Confessions of St. Augustine. It is a touching memorial both of the Mother and the Son, that the old man, writing at the close of his life, dwells with great pleasure upon the recollections of her beautiful countenance and graceful form.

Guibert's autobiography.

Without prescribing young Guibert's course of life, she inclined him towards Holy Orders, or at least gave the child the means of profiting therein, by obtaining for him the best education the country could afford. Guibert remarks that her exertions were attended by trouble and difficulty; "for then," says he, "there were so few "classical teachers in our towns and country places, "that hardly any one could be found. Their know- "ledge also was very slender, nor was it in any- "wise equal to that possessed by the masters of "our modern times."—Guibert's Mother, however, directed his course more effectually than by precept. When he was of age to take care of himself, no longer needing her maternal solicitude, she entered a Monastery. Guibert followed her example, and professed at Nogent-sur-Coucy, in the Diocese of Laon. At some subsequent period, Guibert became a disciple of Archbishop Lanfranc, a disciple worthy of such a master, a sound theologian, an excellent and practical Commentator upon the Holy Scriptures, a preacher, and an instructor of preachers. His Treatise upon the last-mentioned branch of Divinity is peculiarly methodical and profitable.

1096—1100

Guibert becomes a Monk at Nogent.

Guibert's faith led him to oppose a tendency, which, as his good sense taught him to discern, would cast a stumbling-block in the paths of the Faithful: undue credulity. Even as every colour raises its complementary colour, arising

Guibert opposes certain abuses attending the worship of Saints and Relics.

1096—1100 round it when the eye dwells too strainedly upon that colour, dazzling and confusing the sight; so does every right feeling, if too much indulged, excite a corresponding wrong feeling. An exaggerated interpretation of Scriptural precepts, though suggested by submission to the Word of God, may diminish Scriptural authority. Veneration encourages extravagant worship, even of living men: affection towards those most dear, will, if not duly regulated, weaken into silliness. Hence the two meanings of the word fond—the fondness of love, and the fondness of too facile belief, or inanity.

The reverence claimed by Saints and Martyrs, when not restrained by discretion, often tended to create a morbid and injurious delusion. Faith is akin to Poetry: fanciful legends were multiplied: worship more and more rendered, not only to characters in no wise deserving the reputation of sanctity, but even to names which never had a real representative. Cognate abuses were engendered by the honour bestowed upon sacred relics. During a long period the tomb of Saint or Martyr, where the body reposed, alone obtained the devotion of the faithful; but an absolute mania had now arisen for these memorials of the good and holy; and the custom of morselling and dividing the spoils of humanity, became productive, however unintentionally, of indecency and fraud.

The perversion of sacred relics, for the mere purpose of obtaining gifts and offerings, occasioned great and deserved scandal. A constant inclination also prevailed, emanating from sincere and earnest piety, to believe in departures from the ordinary directing laws imposed upon Nature, when there was no foundation for such belief. Their error was indeed directly opposite to ours. They filled the broad margin of the Holy Scriptures' text with imaginative annotations of tradition and wonder: we pare the margin so close, that the Miracles recorded in the Sacred text are carried away. 1096—1100

Guibert's investigative criticism rendered his mind keenly sensible to the evils which thus resulted, provoking the dubious to scorn and infidelity. Rufus is an example of such unbelief. All these tendencies were exceedingly encreased by the Crusades. Guibert produced a very elaborate Treatise, entitled *De pignoribus Sanctorum*, for the purpose of inculcating a better principle and a sounder discrimination. One object which the Abbot of Nogent had in view, when he composed his History of the Crusade, was to rebuke popular superstition. He therefore censures, and with asperity, the instances he discovers in other writers whom he employs, particularly Fulcher of Chartres: speaks without any reserve as to the imposture of the Holy Lance, and, though cautiously, clearly gives us his opinion concerning Guibert's teaching and writing.

1096—1100 Peter the Hermit. Guibert is in no respect a sceptic: his faith embraces articles rejected by our age, nevertheless he possesses that earnest desire for truth, which causes even the mistakes of an enquirer to be honoured.

The Crusades,—colonizing expeditions,—composition and character of the Host.

§ 19. We have enumerated merely the principal Historians who mixed in the first Crusade or became the Chroniclers thereof. In subsequent periods, the evidence becomes wider and more expanding: Arabian Historians take up the reed, and relate the sufferings, the conflicts, the final triumph of Islam. So copious are the existing materials, that two Historians have recently employed their lives in elaborating the Annals and the Philosophy of these Expeditions. Both, conscientiously versed in the Latin or Western sources of information: the German adding thereto a profound knowledge of Byzantine authorities: the Frenchman imbued with Oriental literature, not a mere closet-student, but a Traveller who had visited carefully and intelligently the regions he describes. Yet the relations between the ancient Latin colonies in the East and Europe their mother-country, are as yet only imperfectly investigated. Rhodes and Cyprus, despite of the iconoclastic ravages committed by Turkish Vandalism and Mahometan consistency, contain at this moment more effigies and inscriptions, more monumental records and remembrances of ancient French families than now exist throughout the

Histories of Wilken and Michaud.

length and breadth of the realm, whose castles cradled and nursed the ancestry of the *Lignages d'Outremer*, of Courtenay and of Lusignan. 1096–1100

An inveterate prepossession has caused the Crusades to be considered as essentially mediæval, entirely grounded upon religious fanaticism or military enthusiasm; whereas their principles and practice converted the East into a seed-plot of positive civilization.—Your Crusader was your first European colonist. You literally receive the Sugar-cane, the Sweet cane of the far country, the Honey-cane, the *cannamele*, transplanted from Syria by his hands. He is your Teacher, your Model, your Guide. If you glory in the energies creating our Colonial power, if you exult in our Flag ruling those possessions upon which the sun never sets, take the gifts as bestowed by the Genius of the Crusades.—Study the Sanuto Dukedom, as falling into the series of experimental precedents now developing themselves in the Archipelago of the Southern Seas. The Crusades to be studied as the origin of the Colonial System.

§ 20. Whilst it is quite certain that the Crusades ought to be considered as the transition from the Middle Ages to the age of Civilization, nevertheless seen under another aspect the first Crusade approximates to the great migrations of the human race in earlier times. The Chroniclers reckon the pilgrims by millions: allowing for every exaggeration and misrepresentation, the love of the marvellous, enthusiasm, Composition of the armies of the first Crusade.

1096—1100

hope, fear, the desire of magnifying victory or of excusing defeat, there seems good reason to suppose, that, when fairly engaged in Asia Minor and Syria, they mustered an Hundred and fifty thousand men more or less fit for service. This Army, tumultuous as an Oriental host, contained within it some faith, much valour, more selfishness, exuberant corruption. Again, let us repeat, that we entirely believe in the sincerity and truth actuating many of the Leaders, qualities fully compatible with contradictory aberrations. Any attempt to discriminate between the darker shades of character, inveterate ignorance, ill-regulated zeal, self-interest shading off into self-deception, the voice of conscience drummed down by popular excitement, would be equally presumptuous and futile. But face always answers to face; and accepting, if you choose, the *Pio Goffredo* as the Type of the highminded Crusader, we must not disclaim for such Chieftains the merit or demerit of a practical knowledge of the ways of the world: men who conceive that it is advantageous to unite material interests with spiritual views; who conciliate by concealment; who, working by compromise, believe that it is not merely expedient, but justifiable, to employ such instruments as they can find.

Mixed motives of the Crusaders.

From the highest to the lowest, all who participated in the Adventure were volunteers. No Lord could compel his Vassal to embark for

Palestine: no Chieftain, Raymond de St. Gilles perhaps excepted, was sufficiently venturesome to pledge himself for the payment of his retainers. Each trusted to his own wits and resources: chance, luck, strength, good fortune, plunder. 1096—1100

We have enumerated many Chiefs and Lords, Pontiffs, and Princes, Dukes, Counts, and Barons; but there was One Leader more influential than the Godfreys, and the Baldwins, and the Roberts, and the Eustaces—more persuasive than Peter the Hermit,—more implicitly obeyed than Urban,—whose encyclical authority was recognized in every rank and station: this irresistible Leader was Walter Sansavoir.

The main body of the Pilgrim Emigrants impelled by necessity.

Walter Sansavoir is said to have been the first military Crusader who crossed the water. We will not inquire whether *Sansavoir* be a real name or a sobriquet; whether he were a mythical personage or a reality; but *Walter Sansavoir*, *Walter the Penniless*, *Walter Empty-Purse*, *Needy Walter*, *Walter Lack-land* in one shape or another, was the real Conductor of the wandering myriads. They were Emigrants yielding to necessity; they were seeking their bread—the urgency which cast them forth affords their best plea for pardon.

The Mercenaries.

Least justifiable, perhaps, were the bands who constituted a large and efficient portion of the army, the stout, stalwart, mercenary soldiers who already began to infest Europe: hired men, sol-

1096—1100 diers in the worst sense, who lived only by selling their bodies and their souls; broken men, who did not know the possibility of honour, faith, or allegiance, sufficiently disciplined to make them formidable opponents to their enemies, or, if need be, to their friends. These were the classes, who, in after times, were called Brabançons, from the Flemish majority prevailing amongst them, as we have already noticed in our account of the Conquest. To the Land-devourers, add the Buccaneers, the Sea-rovers, at this time principally Flemings also, who swarmed in all the narrow seas, as much of the Mediterranean as elsewhere, and who joined the Crusade at any convenient opportunity.

Mercenary adventurers.

Now turn we to the wretched: upon them, whatever their offences, bestow undivided pity. Hunger, dire and devouring, those general dearths which for so many years had afflicted Western Christendom, and very particularly in the year of the Asteroids, raised and impelled the great tide of Emigration. The stricken, starving multitudes, driven by the famine blast, fleeing from death and encountering death; commencing a new battle for existence which ended in destruction; their struggles excited by desperation and silenced in despair. These consisted principally of the rustic populations, the Churls and Villeins from the Belgic Gauls and the Rhine-land, travelling in their wains—the sullen fathers, the

The Famine-stricken.

wearied mothers, the tired children—nomades, but without nomadic energy.—Hordes of English from ravaged and desolated Northumbria next appear.—Then follow the wild, bold races, who resorted from the remote regions of the North, where the sound of the Crusades had been heard, calling them forth, like their ancestors of old, seeking their prey: the Scandinavian, so ignorant of the Southern tongues that he could only speak by signs: the harsh Norwegian: the Gothland forester: the Semi-Pagan Vandal from the Baltic shore.—The shaggy Celt of Ireland: the simple, uncouth Scot, who even then incurred the scorn and contempt of Anglo-Saxon civilization. 1096–1100

To all the foregoing were associated the wretches expelled or excluded from society: poverty and destitution combining with degradation and crime:—the Debtor absconding from his creditor; the Outlaw who might be felled by any weapon that was raised against him:—the Manslayer, liable to the vengeance of the blood-feud:—the heart-broken Burgher, the Insolvent, descending from the Stone of Shame:—the recreant Knight hooted through the streets and marched out of the City Gate with the mangy cur upon his shoulder:—the meaner Criminals who fled from Justice or had sustained her penalties, the scourge, the brand, the mutilating iron. Criminals and outcasts.

Vice in all her fouler forms conjoins her victims, sinners more depraved than the convicted

1096—1100 criminal;—the cunning Cheat, the obscene Jongleur, the dissolute Priest, the vagabond Monk renouncing the Cloister's discipline, the Anchorite tired of his hypocrisy, the unnatural Father, the prodigal Son, the profligate Husband, the adulterous Wife, the lascivious Daughter, the unchaste Nun.

Lastly, whole Tribes belonging to those strange classes, who, in the language of the times, were generally called *Truhands*, the Pariah castes appearing under various denominations in the Middle Ages, not Zingaris, though probably of analogous habits and origin. Races degraded before the world, but in their hearts proudly despising their despisers, and receiving into their own independent world those who were rejected by the ruling orders of society. Bold, ferocious, filthy, and exciting horror, they had a Chief amongst them who was called their King. They were dreaded and shunned as Ghouls, who would scratch open the grave and devour the decaying corpse.

The Finances of the Crusade.

§ 21. A pause ensued after the Council of Clermont. The vow was more easily taken than performed: many hung back, grew slack, discovered excuses, and seemed inclined to abandon the enterprize: Stephen of Blois and Chartres amongst the number. Urban was indefatigable in his endeavours, travelling about through Central and Southern France, animating, exhorting,

and at last threatening the defaulters with the censures of the Church. The ordinary cooling down of enthusiasm was one reason: another, the want of funds. Although the Crusaders might well expect to repay themselves when they reached the Grecian confines, it would be difficult to raise the supplies during the intervening march. Many a weary mile was there to be tramped through, heavy passage-money to be paid. 1096—1100

Sansavoir's army began by the tremendous plunder and massacre of the Jews on the Rhine. Sixty thousand perished.—How easily are such things told without exciting any idea except of the figures, and scarcely that, a cypher and four noughts!—imagine yourself a unit in the sum.—The Normans followed the same example at home, and rose against the Jews of Rouen, who were very opulent. Whatever booty was gained in this manner was immediately wasted and lost: and now took place a new species of dealing. On the one part are the Crusaders, the borrowers and vendors, going out; on the other, the men of money and substance, lenders and purchasers, who remained at home, more mercilessly extortionate upon their brethren than the Israelites would have been. Plunder of the Jews. Sales and hypothecations of property.

In consequence of the quantity of property thrown upon the market, the Crusaders were compelled to submit to any terms. A vast commercial and monetary excitement ensued: a gene-

1096—1100

Commercial activity excited by the Crusade.

ral outburst of speculation. All articles needful for the equipment of the Crusaders rose to enormous rates: everywhere the craftsmen were busy. In all the good ports of the Italian and Provençal Littoral of the Mediterranean, the greatest activity prevailed. Scarcely less so in the North. The Flemings made as good use of the opportunity as the royal merchants of Italy: Dortmund and Stavoren rivalled Pisa and Genoa: the sea was covered with sails.

Money became scarcer and scarcer. Some of the Baronage, like the Viscount of Melun, pursued the plain course of robbery, pillaging vills and villages; others squeezed their serfs; but the greater number adopted the ordinary habits of business, and raised their funds by loan or sale, in the usual way. Happy were the Burghers of Rouen, now that the Jewry was closed: merrily did they indemnify themselves, at the expence of the Baronage, for the extortions so recently practised upon them by a Breteuil or a Belesme. The Clergy also were sadly tempted by the opportunity of making excellent bargains.

At the sight of the Red Cross, when the Purchaser entered the stone-vaulted store-chamber, the Dealer asked the greatest price. At the sight of the Red Cross, when the Baron entered the Chapter House, the Treasurer of the Monastery prepared to make the smallest bidding. The Crusader, always on the wrong side of the counter,

bought at the highest quotation, sold at the lowest: the price current constantly ran against him. 1096—1100

Alienations and Mortgages of domains partly speculative.

The alienations made by the Crusaders are well known. Many families were ultimately dilapidated by them; but the character of charity and devotion ascribed to such transactions is in great measure gratuitous. Though there might be ultimate loss, few amongst the Emigrants felt they were making any sacrifice,—on the contrary, they acted under intense excitement, anxious, hazardous, but, on the whole, not unpleasurable. They disposed of their property in Europe, for the purpose of establishing themselves in the Asiatic colony. Gain, enjoyment, subsistence, ambition, destitution, excited or stung them forward. The profits resulting from the adventure, Greek and Syrian domains, lands, castles, towns and towers, deenars and bezants, silks and pearls, slaves, black and white, had been advertised by the promoters of the scheme as inducements to take shares; nay, the attractions of lustful gratification presented as an additional *bonus* or stimulus. Similar to all grand speculations, the venture became unprofitable to the majority, but this was as it might be; to others, it succeeded.

Alienations made by Godfrey of Bouillon.

We entertain no doubts concerning Godfrey's sincerity: nevertheless, when we see the money counted upon the table by the Prince Bishop of Liège, and Godfrey's Chaplain-Clerk sweeping the cash into the bags, the sale of the

1096—1100 Duchy of Bouillon for the sum of four thousand marcs of silver, and gold coins to the weight of one pound, was not ill-compensated by the acquisition of the Kingdom of Jerusalem for himself, his brother, and his nephew.

Robert pledges Normandy to Rufus for the term of five years.

§ 22. As for Courthose, reckon him amongst the merely extravagant. He had no ultimate object in view: he acted only for the present: a bankrupt going abroad: a ruined man endeavouring to relieve his mind by change of scene, and *distraction*, as the French would call it. But he was exactly in the same strait as all the rest—where was the money to come from? It should seem that all his means were exhausted, there were no Crown domains which could be pledged: he had nothing to mortgage except his title to the whole Duchy; and in this emergency he entreated Rufus to aid him in his need. "Normandy shall be the pledge for five years"—until the last year of the Eleventh century, the year Eleven Hundred.—Rufus accepted the proposal with exulting gladness, and agreed, upon condition of being put in possession, to advance a sum of which the amount is variously stated; small enough any way: not exceeding ten thousand marcs: the engagement being concluded, Rufus assumed the government of the Duchy, and Robert, assembling his forces, prepared to depart.

1096. September. Robert departs from

§ 23. Robert played and delayed, and did not quit Normandy until the autumn of the

year after the Council had been held: he crossed the Alps, taking, as we suppose, the usual pilgrim route over the Mont-Cenis. We next find him and his party in Tuscany. An event had just occurred there, occasioning extraordinary sensation throughout all Italy—the separation between Guelph of Bavaria and his spouse, the most renowned Countess Matilda—Matilda, the Great Countess,—the richest Heiress and the most energetic heroine whom the age had ever beheld. This Matilda was the daughter of Boniface the Pious and the Countess Beatrice. Who can forget the exquisite sarcophagus in the Campo-Santo, which entombs the remains of Beatrice, Hellenic art so strangely adapted to the rites of Christian sepulture?

1096—1100 Normandy, crossing the Alps. Halts in Tuscany. The great Countess Matilda: her marriages and separations.

Matilda's first husband was Godfrey the Hunchback, Duke of Lohier or Brabant, uncle of Godfrey of Bouillon, who became ultimately his heir. Italy never has been able to disengage herself from Tramontane connexions. Thanks to the Great Countess, Godfrey the Hunchback died childless. Matilda's enemies maintained, that, having been delivered of twins, shaped like their father, she caused them to be drowned. The truth is, that no babes were born. Godfrey the Hunchback's talents and virtues fully compensated for his deformity; but proud Matilda refused obedience to her husband, and abandoned his society, virtually repudiating him before his

Godfrey the Hunchback, Duke of Lohier, Matilda's first Husband.

1096—1100 death. Her second husband was the Guelph, who put her away—an unlucky marriage, concluded by Pope Urban. It is said that Robert Courthose also wooed the Widow, but lost her through the powerful influence exercised in favour of Guelph his rival. The way now opened to him a second time: he may again have been bold enough to seek the Heroine's hand; but fifty years of age and two husbands sufficed, and Matilda abstained from a third Consort. Indeed, she had no inclination or leisure for domestic life, being entirely engaged in politics and the defence of the Papal power.

Robert at Lucca. Pope Urban was now under Matilda's protection in Tuscany, being kept out of Rome by the Clementines. Other Chieftains joined Robert at Lucca, the laggard Stephen of Blois, Hugh of Vermandois, and Robert of Flanders. An important conference was held here. Robert and the Crusaders received the Pope's benediction, and certainly also his earnest exhortations to pursue the enterprize. Lucca was familiarized to Robert through the *Santo Volto*, so well known by his brother's favourite oath, and he may have visited the Church of Normandy's patron Saint, that strange and barbaric San' Michele.

Robert and the Crusaders assist in recovering Hence to Rome, where they were reinforced by Matilda's army. The city was filled by the Crusaders; and after continued and desperate con-

flicts with the Clementines, who fought even in the Basilica of St. Peter, Urban ultimately recovered the whole city, the Tower of Crescentius holding out to the last. 1096—1100 Rome for Pope Urban.

Further south, to Apulia, a joyful and merry party. The Italian Normans gave a splendid reception to the representative of Rollo: Roger Bursa bowed before Courthose as his liege-lord, an ostentatious humility. Here Courthose may now have made his first acquaintance with the Conversano family, that flourishing branch of Hauteville's line:—Geoffrey, the reigning Count, Lord also of Brundusium, abounding in wealth,—William, Geoffrey's son, afterwards Robert's faithful companion,—and more than all, Sibylla, peerless amongst the young damsels of the land. Was idle, wasteful Robert worthy of Sibylla? a hound or a hawk would be recompensed by their weight in silver; he continued to display that reckless extravagance which destroyed the worth of his generosity. No Italian was Sibylla,—a true daughter of Normandy: sense and loveliness, energy, discretion, and virtue, all combined. 1096—7. Robert winters in Apulia.

Much were the rich Norman patients courted by the fur-robed physicians of Salerno. Their celebrated Treatise upon Diet and Regimen, well understood to be a Guide to their Baths, is dedicated to Courthose, *Anglorum Regi, scribit Schola tota Salerni.* Robert was not King yet, but he would not be very angry at this mistake

1096—1100 in his style and title: the anticipation was not offensive to his feelings. Odo of Bayeux did not profit by the Baths or the Physicians, nor did he travel much further. Illness, for we cannot imagine any other cause, induced him to pass over to Sicily. Here Odo's campaigns ended; he had worked hard for nothing: he was buried at Palermo in the Duomo. Duke Roger paid the expences of raising him a tomb: some Norman Clerk indited the lugubrious epitaph.

Death of Odo of Bayeux.

In Apulia, Bohemond conferred with the Transalpine Crusaders, and mustered his small but valiant band, Tancred and the rest; they all became his men, and submitted to the oath of obedience and fidelity.

1097. April 5. Robert crosses the water. The Crusaders in Greece.

§ 24. Soon as Robert crossed the gulf of Otranto, fresh from the farewells of Apulia, perhaps anxious to renew the greetings, he seemed entirely renovated, casting off the sluggard bands which hitherto bound him: energetic, active, and almost wise, his frankness and pleasant manners gained him universal favour. Robert began the Crusade with but an indifferent character: the Normans held him cheap, talked over his failings: in Italy they scoffed at and despised him. But the alteration in his conduct produced the usual reaction: he became a hero in the Camp. That Robert was inferior in piety and wisdom to Godfrey might be admitted, yet he was held to be Godfrey's superior in valour

and military talent. Accepted by common assent as one of the chief Leaders of the army, the Bretons, the Normans, the Angevines and the English fought on most occasions under his Standard: that Standard we shall follow when tracing the campaign, glancing only at events wherein he is less immediately concerned. It will be important to recollect also, that Robert's deeds resounded, not unincreased by the repeated echoes which transmitted them, in Normandy and in England. Every Messenger returning from the East, every Pilgrim, every Fugitive,—for there were those whose hearts failed them—aye and folks of high degree, brought news of Duke Robert's prowess, Duke Robert's success, and the credit Duke Robert the Crusader had obtained. 1096—1100

§ 25. Robert joined Bohemond in Macedonia: became Bohemond's intimate, acted as though he had been Bohemond's sworn brother —concurred in Bohemond's views, and these were sufficiently well declared. Various shades of opinion manifested themselves. The Holy Sepulchre was given out as the Lode-star, but even Godfrey's compass occasionally deflected: with the largest proportion of the Crusaders, there was no other object except winning what they could. Godfrey and the Crusaders employed Passion-week in ravaging, insulting, robbing, burning all around Constantinople, destroying the splendid palaces wherein they had received the

Robert and the Crusaders before Constantinople.

1097. March 29. April 4. Passion-week. Suburbs of Constantinople pillaged by the Crusaders.

1096—1100 kindest and most splendid hospitality: those palaces exciting so much admiration, whose terraced walls and kiosks were said to enclose a space of thirty miles—an exaggeration indeed, but proving the richness of the delightful abode in which the Franks had been entertained.

Alexis, his suspicions of the Crusaders reasonable.

Much has been said concerning the perfidy of Alexis, the *Greco fallace,* and his want of charity towards the pilgrims of the Cross. Alexis would have been insane had he trusted them. Alexis was wise and wary, acute and observant; but surely it would have required only a very small share of wisdom to put him on his guard. Had the Crusaders observed any of the laws of nations (if such there be), towards Alexis? Had any instinctive feelings of self-defence been left unroused? A hundred thousand banditti, claiming a right of way through a foreign State, the precursors of an overwhelming army, Chieftains, Nations, and Races, who had already usurped the fairest provinces of his Imperial Crown.

When an Englishman begins to converse with a Mandarin, hinting at entrance into the "Celestial Empire," the Chinaman opens the map of the World, lays his finger upon India, and shakes his head—Pardon his tenacious memory—he recollects the Schooner manned by the Smuggler and the Missionary, who first presented his countrymen with tracts and opium; the drug of

drunkenness, wrapped by English hands in the warnings which exclude the Drunkard from the Kingdom of Heaven. They have supplied us with the most refreshing and innocent of beverages, We compel them by slaughter, to receive the most deleterious of intoxicating poisons.—A slight excuse may therefore be extended to the suspicious Greek. The Norman pilgrims to Monte Gargano had been the forerunners of the Norman Conquerors of Sicily and Apulia: and, towering amidst the Crusaders, is Bohemond, Guiscard's son, the claimant of the Byzantine Empire. 1096—1100

The courage of Alexis was unshaken,—to animate the Greeks he placed his canopied throne outside the walls, whilst the Franks were skirmishing around. There sat the Emperor under the silken baldachin, beneath the bright azure sky, bare-headed; without armour or helmet, sword or shield, tranquil, and apparently unmoved. The snap and twang of the dread Norman Arbalest was heard; the sharp ponderous arrow slew one of his attendants by his side. At defenceless Alexis, had the shaft been directed: resistance against the Latins became impracticable, he therefore attempted to bind, were it possible, the conscience and the honour of his enemies. He demanded they should perform homage: under this stipulation, they would have acquired the subordinate dominion of any conquests which

1096—1100 they might make from the Turks, and their recovery of the Imperial territory would have re-united the dismemberments to the original Empire. A compromise certainly, but equitable towards both parties: one which if truly carried out by the Crusaders, would have re-erected the falling Christendom of the East, and created, as they professed to desire, an impregnable bulwark against the Mahometan invasions.

Godfrey and his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Hugh of Vermandois, entered into the bond. There was much discussion upon the proposed transaction: some said it was a shame to subject themselves to such an humiliation, to bow before the contemptible Greeks. At last they all assented; with the exception of Raymond de St. Gilles, who consented however, as some say, to take the oath of fealty.—The Homagers construed the engagement according to the practice of the Norman Baronage.

Robert crosses into Asia.

§ 26. Robert crosses the Bosphorus, then placed under the advocacy of the Cappadocian warrior, and known as the *Arm of St. George;* and when the Crusaders entered Asia, the Norman was, in manner before mentioned, elected one of the three chief Captains of the host. This arrangement was not always observed; quarrels and rivalries varied the disposition of troops and leaders: indeed, during the whole

expedition, we seek in vain for military talent, foresight, or skill. 1096—1100

The Crusaders are before Nicæa, where Robert's grandfather was poisoned. The Turks held the city, recently wrested from the Christian power. Robert and his companions liberated Nicæa from the Enemy; but their victory became a vexation, for they were compelled to restore the acquisition, though temporarily, to the Greek, the legitimate Sovereign. Alexis only claimed his right; therefore, henceforward, the Crusaders declared themselves his open enemies. 1097. May. The Crusaders before Nicæa.

Perils now thickened upon them; wonder, bravery, cowardice, and imagination, all tended to magnify their calculations of the infidel Hosts. Three hundred and sixty thousand Turks and Saracens, Persians and Tartars, as the Crusaders reported or fabled, advanced against them, headed by furious Solyman. In the great battle of Dorylæum, the Franks, appalled by the envenomed arrows of the Infidels, fled, overpowered by the intense heat, and yielding to terror. The day would have been lost, but for Robert, who, dashing to support the fugitives, waved the Norman banner and raising the war-cry, encouraged them to withstand, and ultimately to disperse the Paynim army. Three Turkish Admirals, as the Norman Crusaders boasted on the morrow, did Robert transfix with his lance. Thirty thousand unbelievers fell in the close and desperate 1097. July 1. The great battle of Dorylæum.

1096—1100 conflict, the ground, so strewn with corpses, that a horse could not gallop over the field. And the belief that St. George and St. Demetrius fought in the Christian ranks, did not diminish the honour which human prowess had obtained.

The painful march through burning Phrygia.

Robert's fortitude sustained a severer trial in the march through burning Phrygia, where thousands perished miserably in the agonies of thirst; but the Duke's constancy continued unshaken, his temper undisturbed, his liberality undiminished; and the small, though opulent city of Azania, which he conquered, became the Barony of a simple Knight who was numbered amongst his followers. The dissensions now arising between the noble Tancred and subtle Bohemond spread throughout the Army; but Robert avoided sharing in the disputes, and this apparent prudence enhanced his reputation.

Robert and the Crusaders advance towards Antioch.

§ 27. Advancing gloriously towards Antioch, the Crusaders must thread the Pass, equally impressive to the imagination, and effectual as a defence; the bridge of Gessr-il-Haddir, the Iron Bridge, the fortified bridge crossing the River of Damascus, Pharpar (as the Crusaders deemed), or fabled Orontes. Lofty *panoplied* towers covered with metal bars and bands, existing till our own times, when the convulsions of the earth destroyed the works which had withstood man and time, enabled the Turkish garrisons to oppose a desperate resistance. Duke

The battle of the Iron Bridge.

Robert was selected to perform the dangerous service of leading the Van of the Army onwards in making the first attempt. The banks of the stream were protected by the Saracen forces, incessantly pouring their volleys of arrows; but Robert's soldiers, joining their shields, rushed forwards, and opened a way for the march to opulent, flourishing, and powerful Antioch, guarded by her three hundred and sixty towers, bristling the heights and darkening their battlements against the sky. The Crusaders dared not attempt to assault the mountain-defended city. They were thoroughly appalled by the strength of the fortifications, and still more by the known valour of the defenders. The siege therefore relaxed into a most irregular and nominal blockade—they encamped in the fertile plain, luxuriated in the delights the gardens of Daphne afforded, and with shameless profusion consumed the ample resources offered by the country. 1096—1100

Protracted Siege of Antioch,—begun Oct. 18, 1097.

Mountains, walls and towers resisted the prowess of the army: Antioch was ultimately gained, yet not before she had bewitched the Crusaders to their ruin;—Courage, Honour, Soul, all lost.—The extreme corruption which prevailed, imparted an indelible stain to their character. The worst vices of heathenism luxuriated amongst the besiegers: and to atone for their profligacy, the females who had been the companions of their lust were sacrificed as the

1096—1100 victims of their ferocity. Savage punishments were inflicted upon the delinquents whose guilt was their want of caution: leaving immorality unchecked, and brutalizing the ministers of perverted vengeance. Horrible distress succeeded to wild indulgence, sickness and famine raged. Dismay became contagious. Stephen of Blois and Chartres stands discreditably prominent. He pretended illness, and absconded from the camp. Robert also departed for Laodicea, seeking, as he asserted, to gain over certain of those English, who, with Edgar Atheling, had entered the service of the Greek Emperor.

Bohemond's banquets of human flesh.

The vast extent of the fortifications, and the want of discipline amongst the Crusaders, rendered an assault impracticable. Bohemond's energies were roused, and here did he display the inexorable cruelty as well as the extreme fraudulence of his character. It was in the camp before Antioch that Bohemond gave the hideous banquets of human flesh, repeated again and again in the course of this war, and excused with faint disapprobation by those who admired, if they did not share, the cannibalism. Most intent upon winning Antioch, Bohemond had fixed his heart on establishing himself in this part of Syria, far more important for the prosecution of his designs against Byzantium than Jerusalem: and he succeeded through a secret league concluded with Phirouz the Renegade.

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1098. June 3. Phirouz the renegade betrays Antioch to Bohemond and the Crusaders.

In the darkness of the night, seven Towers were successively gained by escalade: the foremost who ascended the ladder was the tonsured Priest, the Historian, Fulcher of Chartres; but Duke Robert participated in the gloomy triumph of making the first advance into the City. Well satisfied indeed were the Crusading Leaders with Bohemond's ingenuity, promising, as they expected, such a prize for the common weal.

Slaughter of the inhabitants.

The weary inhabitants, trusting in the strength of their defences, were sleeping peacefully: the yells and shrieks of the Franks woke them to their death: an indiscriminate butchery ensued. Neither the valour of the Turkish soldiers, nor the defenceless condition of the populacy, inspired any compassion. Turk and Greek, Syrian and Armenian, Ismaelite and Israelite, all involved in the same fate.—"We spared neither age nor sex, nor rank nor condition, in that night,"—is the declaration of the Pilgrim Priest who rejoiced in the slaughter.

Robert, Count of Flanders, and Robert, Duke of Normandy, were appointed Commanders of the City; but Bohemond had arranged his plan. Scarcely were the Crusaders in possession, when his scarlet Standard was seen waving on the highest tower, and he asserted his claim to the Conquest. Bohemond surprized Antioch by cowardly treachery, and basely retained the acquisition by breaking the faith he pledged to his own

1096—1100 companions: such was the foundation of his Syrian sovereignty, his claim to renown.

'*O gran bontà dei Cavalieri antichi!*'—Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, mastered Edessa even more easily. The Greek Prince Theodore having adopted the Red Cross Knight as a son, he connived at the assassination of the unfortunate and simple-hearted old man, and established himself in the Principality, whence he ascended to the Throne of Jerusalem. Some days ensued of unbridled license and debauchery; and it is noticed, scarcely with reprehension, that the Bayaderes and Almés of the East adorned the gay banquets of the Christian soldiery.

Kerboga advances and invests Antioch.

§ 28. Further perils roused them to conflict. Kerboga, of Mosul, advanced with his nine-and-twenty Admirals,—Amirsoliman, Amirsolendus, Amirmazoain, Amirmeleducac, Amirboelquenari, Amirboldages, Amirmoxé, Amirsansodolé, Amirhegibbé, Amirmergascottelon, Amirgirpaslan, Amirgigremis, Amircaraor, Amirartubech, Amircaraiath and their compeers, whose demon names excited horror when thus repeated in the far distant West. Four hundred thousand chosen warriors followed Kerboga, and enveloped Antioch. Many deserted, letting themselves down from the walls by ropes, hence obtaining the disgraceful name of *Funambulists*:—shame to tell, Stephen, Count of Blois and of Chartres, was again found amongst the recreants. He

fled the country and reached home, safe, sound and hearty, unwelcomed by his noble Consort, his cowardice racking Adela's heart with grief and despair. 1096—1100

Antioch was delivered by the tremendous battle which derived its denomination from the City beneath whose walls the armies fought. 1098 28 June. Battle of Antioch.

Robert's courage never flagged; in one desperate sally his sword clove an infidel Emir to the saddle, whilst the Norman Duke thundered his imprecations against the heathen dog whom the blow delivered to Tarmagaunt and Mahound. Nay, as the Normans declared, was it not Robert, who, encountering Kerboga in single fight, had cut him down, and thus, spreading dismay amongst the troops, drove back the infidels in wild confusion? Yet amongst the many painful incidents of the Holy War, no one was more so than the impudent frauds which the battle of Antioch involves:—the discovery of the Holy Lance;—and the apparitions of the Soldier Saints, George, and Maurice, and Theodore, clad in white armour, aiding the victory.

§ 29. During the siege of Jerusalem, Robert's valour was equally conspicuous, and it was he who, with Godfrey, first placed the scaling ladders against the walls of the Holy City. Robert took his full share in the dreadful massacre: old men and young, women and children, the weak and the strong, the poor and the rich, Siege and capture of Jerusalem. 1099. 15 July. Jerusalem taken.

1096—1100 devoured by sword and flame. Cut, pierced, stabbed, ripped up, eviscerated, burnt, suffocated, crushed, their bones hewn, splintered, shattered, broken, their flesh hacked, lacerated, their joints and limbs torn, contorted, wrung, wrenched, rent in agony; no mercy, no pity, no word or thought of pity or mercy.

The loathsome carnage-stench filled the atmosphere. The Conquerors, drunken with fury, could scarcely endure the hot reek steaming from the smoking life-blood in which they waded.—A pause ensued: the Victors, their hands begrimed, their garments clotted and stiffened by slaughter, entered the Holy Sepulchre, wept, knelt, prayed.

> Nè pur deposto il sanguinoso manto
> Viene al Tempio con gli altri il sommo Duce
> E quì l'arme sospende, e quì devoto
> Il gran Sepolchro adora, e sciogle il voto.

Godfrey fulfilled his vow: and his companions, refreshed, exhilarated, forthwith resumed and completed the work of destruction.

As there is always much alloy of evil in the good resulting from human exertions, so there is also a tincture of good usually granted as an alleviation for evil. In this respect the Crusades stand alone: we cannot discern any one resulting benefit which could compensate for their crimes. The Crusades have no parallel. Every other State founded upon conquest, has

earned some worldly triumph, exhibiting the rougher virtues whereby the dominion was acquired, military skill, captainship, intelligence, grandeur; some period of unity, honour, splendour, prosperity. — But Latin Jerusalem had none:—never did she rise from her bath of polluted gore. 1096—1100

Chapter XII.

CLOSE OF RUFUS—BEAUCLERC'S ACCESSION.

1096—1101.

1096—1101

The last era of the life and reign of Rufus.

§ 1. Robert has departed for Palestine: Rufus will never meet him again. Let us take breath, pause, and consider the position now assumed by the three Brethren, reviewing the events befalling Rufus during the last period of his life and reign, an era commencing with Robert's transfer of the Norman Duchy, and terminating in the Year Eleven hundred. We place ourselves under the Lych-gate, and fix our gaze upon the Corpse borne slowly downwards towards the grave. Thither is Rufus visibly tending. The presence of the Angel of death is not more awful than the recollection of his Precursors.—Opportunities, warnings, moments of mercy used or lost; successes turned to vanity; sorrows ripened into blessings; each opening the veils between the material and spiritual world; the events of varied complexion, some viewed with breathless anxiety, others flitting by almost unobserved, and unmarked, none whereof the significance has been fully appreciated until the Soul has departed from her tenement. The Messengers dimly seen; light words, whose omens are

now disclosed; thoughts marking the inward changes of the mind: each, the tolling of the passing-bell. 1096—1101

Even as the most exquisite work of art, the finest texture of the loom, is discerned to be immeasurably coarse and rude, when compared with the organized structures of the Kosmic universe, semblances of archetypal forms, exemplifications of an incomprehensible plastic power:—so when the Drama of the Poet is placed in parallel with the chronicle of human life, does the highest creative talent ever imparted to the human mind, represent most clumsily and inartificially the convergency of the incidents preparing each man's destiny, as they concentrate round the catastrophe—none wasted or superfluous; each, falling into that order whose predetermination is disclosed by their sequence; the course apparently devious, yet every variation of track still conducting to the same termination; an epic, overwhelming from the contemplation of its perfect unity; a plot, which never could have been changed.

§ 2. All the anticipations of toil, weariness, and anxiety, distressing the dying Conqueror when his dulled thoughts turned towards his children, were now in process of fulfilment. All the dissensions, enmities, and heart-burnings subsisting between the three Brethren at the time of their Father's death, not only continued, Position of Henry Beauclerc.

1096—1101 but had encreased in virulence; and the unequal partition of the Inheritance, dictated in the first instance by prudence or necessity, had become still more unequal. Rufus reigning in the Kingdom and the Duchy, Robert, the first-born, virtually disinherited: the balance of power which the Conqueror attempted destroyed; and the compromise whereby he had endeavoured to reconcile the claims of ancestry and the rights of victory, entirely at an end.

Beauclerc's discreet conduct.

Henry Beauclerc submitted wisely and discreetly to his fate: he was comfortably circumstanced, manifested neither anxiety nor ambition; and, outwardly at least, a complete reconciliation had taken place between him and Rufus. Henry continued in possession of the Côtentin, Domfront and its territory, and, as it should seem, held the government of Caen. This we collect rather from collateral circumstances. He certainly resided much there, and with his affectionate Nesta;—it was at Caen that their son Robert (afterwards the great Earl of Gloucester) was born. Henry kept very close with Rufus however, making himself useful, guarding himself carefully against his own violence and impetuosity, dissimulation improved into a second nature; cheerful, unpretending, following his Brother wherever he went, and consorting with him as much as possible, whether in his perils or in his pleasures. The latter indeed was no

difficult task, for Beauclerc was as keen a sportsman as Rufus: so knowing in all the minor and meaner branches of the Huntsman's vocation, that even the Normans rather despised him for his proficiency, calling him *Pied-de-cerf* in derision: he lowered himself by his servile skill, more befitting a Yeoman-pricker than the Son of a King.—The love of the chase was a monomania in the Conqueror's family; or, if you choose so to consider it, a faculty which had become hereditary; and there was no surer way of recommending yourself to their patronage and protection, than by conforming to their taste. 1096–1101

Beauclerc's favourite confidant, Roger the Clerk of Caen.

Beauclerc's confidential favourite was of a congenial spirit. Their mutual introduction characterises both parties. It chanced that when Henry was going forth with his Knights one morning, probably to hunt, he passed a small Chapel in the outskirts of Caen, served by a Priest, poor in pence, poorer in learning; but this Priest had a large share of mother-wit—and when the future King came in, requesting to hear Mass, for the door being opened, he could not decently pass the portal without entering the Oratory—Clerk Roger, by leaving out this Lesson and galloping through that Psalm, reached the end of the Service with the greatest possible expedition. A clever Chaplain, for such as We,—quoth jolly Beauclerc. Roger was immediately taken into his service; and not many

1096—1101 years after, became a Bishop and the most influential minister of the Realm.

Beauclerc's expectations, their varying chances.

§ 3. It is hardly consistent with human nature, when there is any expectation of an inheritance,—however shadowy, or uncertain, or remote,—to discard from our minds the chances which Death may bring. The wisest speculate a little upon these chances: even those who profess entire indifference about temporal wealth, employ themselves in cogitating how they will withstand the temptations resulting from encreased prosperity—*if luck* should come—or bestow their acquisitions.

We may be certain that the thoughts of the casualties which might give him the Kingdom of England, or the Duchy of Normandy, or both, were rarely dormant in Beauclerc's brain. Had he been ever so unambitious, unworldly, and contented, he could scarcely have resisted these pleasant visions—his father's dying words seemed to prognosticate great good fortune.

Constitutional doctrines exonerated the Porphyrogenitus from undue presumption: he was an Englishman by birth, the son of the anointed King and the anointed Queen, contemplated with favour by the English nation as the more rightful heir: nay even old British prophecies, whether of Merlin the Wild or Merlin the Wise, were applied to him. Beauclerc might be encouraged by the character of his brothers: Rufus

odious, Robert despised—Rufus childless, Robert unmarried. Nevertheless, if Henry dared to entertain any revolutionary project, there were other circumstances, quite as forcible, to render such anticipations all but hopeless. Rufus, vigilant, fortunate, was unassailable. Robert might marry: he was a good match: many a princess would be glad to become his consort; and if he continued single, his two brave sons, Richard and William, whose parentage he had unequivocally acknowledged, were fully as legitimate as their Victorious Grandfather. 1096—1101

This fluctuating complexion of affairs, which subsisted during the early part of the reign of Rufus, settled for the worse against Henry, when the Treaty of Rouen was concluded. Henry's opportunities of obtaining either England or Normandy by the death of either hated brother, had always depended upon distant contingencies. Though the youngest, yet Henry was the junior only by a very few years, so that, come what might, the ordinary chances of survivorship could scarcely be reckoned upon. His reversion could only be accelerated by an accidentally fatal illness —and the recovery of Rufus from his malady at Gloucester showed the strength of his constitution,—or by a violent death;—and thus looking to the chances separately, the probable duration of the concurrent lives would only leave Henry a fag end for enjoyment, whether of Royal or

1096—1101 of Ducal powers. Now the Treaty was worded for the express and determinate purpose of extinguishing all Beauclerc's pretensions. Each of the elder Brothers, Rufus and Courthose, made over his Dominion to the other. Whichever of the two contracting parties lived longest, would, holding Kingdom and Duchy, have a double interest against Henry: and his reversion seemed indefinitely postponed, when suddenly the unexpected departure of Robert for the Crusades opened a more cheering prospect.

Improved chance resulting to Rufus through Robert's departure to the Crusades.

The dangers of a voyage to the East under any circumstances were great. According to the custom or practice of "putting-out" which arose in the Elizabethan era of marine adventure, partaking both of Life Assurance and Ship-underwriting, the chances against the safe return of a traveller from the Levant were usually estimated at three to one. It was upon these terms that John Sanderson, the great Turkey merchant, was accustomed to insure himself when he went upon his voyages; several of these policies exist for the information of the curious.

Sometimes the calculation was made as a gambling speculation.—"I do intend," says Puntavorolo in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, "this year of Jubilee coming on, to "travel, and (because I will not altogether go "upon expence) I am determined to put out some "five thousand pound to be paid me, five for one,

"upon the return of my Wife, Myself, and my 1096—1101
"Dog, from the Great Turk's Court in Constan-
"tinople."—Puntavorolo, at the tavern, drank the health of Sir Giles Overreach, in joyful expectation of receiving his gain from the miser's purse; and Sir Giles Overreach moralised upon Puntavorolo's wastefulness.

Could such a policy have been opened upon the life of Robert Courthose, when he departed with the other Crusaders, his risk would certainly have been calculated at the highest. Ten to one against his return from the Crusade would scarcely have been an adequate premium. The journey's length, perils by land and sea, Apulian luxury, Greek perfidy, damsels and dragons, wine and poison, the Saracen sabre, the Moorish hassagai, famine and feasting, might all combine for his destruction; and if, through his indolence, Robert escaped the hazards of war, the Camp's attendant vices would constantly expose him to dangers more insidious and not less fatal. Moreover, Robert had taken his son William with him, whose youthful activity might prompt him to be foremost in the conflict, and thus to Beauclerc the chances of the windfall were encreased by one-half. Instead of seeing four Lives between him and England or Normandy, two Brothers in possession, and two Nephews who might give trouble, Rufus and Robert, Richard and William, there were only

1096—1101 two of each sort, one Brother and one Nephew, Rufus and Richard.

The successes of Rufus.

§ 4. Henry's expectations thus varying, Rufus had, since his father's death, continued advancing in power, after a course peculiarly calculated to excite self-confidence, encrease dependence upon his own talent, and fortify his trust in his own energy. He had successfully laboured against difficulties. He had exerted strength and subtlety, courage and skill. He demanded admiration as an unquestionable right, and would take no refusal, and therefore the applause was yielded. He acquired a great name because he displayed a constant and consistent will. People were determined to believe in his prosperity, and the notion, which had passed into a proverb, that the King was always favoured by a fair wind, testified the power he had gained over the public mind.

His accession had been opposed by his own Brothers and his own Uncle, aided by the most wealthy and powerful of the Baronage, those upon whom he had naturally the greatest reason to rely. Suppressed in appearance, the Conspiracy against him retained vitality, and broke out again with greater virulence; but he had watched his time—force, prudence, and delay, rendered him the victor. Where were his enemies now? Montgomery dead, William of Eu a mutilated living anatomy, the Mowbray in captivity,

Suppression of the Odo and Mowbray conspiracies.

Odo of Champagne banished, Stephen of Holdernesse retreating, Robert and Bishop Odo flying away in disgrace, his brother Henry obedient, almost cringing, and his Royal and Ducal authority universally recognized in England and in Normandy, none daring to lift up a voice or a hand. 1096—1101

But this victory over men was of comparatively small import, compared with the triumph over principles which he had achieved. Rufus had, as it seemed to him, entirely subjugated the Order which alone could oppose any constitutional barrier against his despotism; the Clergy were completely beaten down. He had envied and dreaded their wealth and their influence; *Churchmen*, he had said, *hold half my kingdom;* all they held was now within his grasp, to be dealt with gently, and discreetly, so as to avoid much clamour or sudden offence; nevertheless just as he should think fit. The Bishops humbled into dumb dogs; Episcopal Sees bestowed by the King's Great Seal: the *Consuetudines* rigidly enforced: no appeal against Royal prerogative, the Collective jurisdiction of the Church in abeyance:—Councils suspended: the Papal supremacy existing only by sufferance, and Anselm, the last defender of Ecclesiastical liberty, a wanderer and an exile, never, as Rufus thought, to return. And indeed it was the expulsion of Anselm which gave to Rufus the pleasurable victory.—No one was left who dared rebuke with authority, Subjugation of the Church.

1096—1101 who could venture to arouse in him the uncomfortable feelings of conscientious responsibility: no more solemn and friendly warnings; no more arguments assailing the reason; no more the aspect of that countenance, reproaching by the kindest smile.

Successes of Rufus over the Scots,

When Rufus received the Imperial diadem of Albion, two of its brightest gems were dimmed; Scots and Cymri repudiated Anglo-Norman ascendancy.—Malcolm's reign had been a continued resistance, not only against English superiority, but also impugning the title of Rufus; clearly asserting his Consort's right of succession to the English Crown.—The Cymri were even more resolute, defended by the natural fortresses of their country, which opposed the strongest obstacles to their well-disciplined but impetuous enemies.

But now, the honour of the Imperial Diadem was vindicated, the power of the Gael broken: Malcolm slain by Mowbray, an enemy destroying an enemy, both silenced: the children of Margaret and Malcolm brought into Anglo-Norman custody—the daughters, fair Edith, and the wise and lovely Mary, the wards of Rufus—the sons, the retainers and followers of the *English Court:* the heirs of the Scoto-Pictish *Kings, once* so fierce, so resolute, so *implacable, his* suppliant homagers. The *Scottish Edgar*, placed upon the throne by Rufus, gratefully rejoiced in his

dependence; considering the obligation of fealty as a privilege, not a burthen; nay more, reigning according to doctrines which promised the most entire subjection, not merely political but moral, incorporating himself as a member of the Anglo-Norman community, in heart and in mind. 1096—1101

and over the Cymri.

With the Cymri, the conflicts of Rufus had been somewhat harder—Anglo-Saxon Scotland might be conquered in the person of the Sovereign; Malcolm Canmore's Monarchy possessed the advantages and disadvantages of centralized power. Besides the King, none mighty; when he fell, the Scoto-Saxon Realm was subdued; but the divisions which weakened the Cymri gave them the means of troubling their assailants. If one Chieftain was slain by the Frenchmen, (as they called the Normans), his rival, released from a national competitor, was the better able to annoy his enemies.

Complexity of Welch history in the Anglo-Norman period, arising from the separate objects of the Lords Marchers and the Sovereign.

Hence the balance of success hitherto attending Rufus. The affairs of Wales continued to present that double aspect which renders their narrative so complex. The King and his Barons acting as allies, yet each with a separate object: the Anglo-Norman Lords Marchers still conquering on their own account, holding by the sword what they won by the sword—the Anglo-Norman Sovereign vindicating his Crown's supremacy.

We must content ourselves with viewing the

1096—1101 transactions at a distance, and from our side of the hills.—Having learned prudence from previous discomfitures, Rufus returned to punish the stubborn Rebels, who dared defend their nationality, their language, their lands.—He employed his usual persuasions; he held up his purse, and bought over the Traitors who guided him. The season was well chosen, bright summer. He penetrated through the Passes, having declared his intent of extinguishing the Cymric race: all the male inhabitants were to be slain. Had success attended him, he was fully capable of executing his threat.—Why should he not? Cromwell thus tranquillized Ireland to the extent of his power. Algeria sustains the process; nor is the doctrine of extermination either practically or theoretically rejected by Civilization, who mourns over the deed she performs, as the result of inevitable necessity. But the Cymri were to be preserved, though not by their own strength. They dispersed themselves in their fastnesses, and eluded the King's power. Rufus could neither enslave nor utterly root out the natives: his own troops suffered severely, and he retreated. Yet the expedition proved satisfactory in its results: the Lords Marchers, encouraged or permitted by the Sovereign, raised more and more fortresses around the Borders. The Cymric Princes,—in their own language, the *Twisogion*,—were contented to acknowledge the supremacy of triumphant Edgar's

successor: nay, they contended for the honours which his Court bestowed and refused, vainly claiming the privilege of bearing the Sword of State before the King. 1096—1101

§ 5. Thus successful in Albion, the prosperity of Rufus was even more complete beyond the Channel: he was no less powerful in Normandy than in England, and happier there. Although nominally put in possession of the Duchy as a pledge, and for the limited term of five years, purporting to be a mere mortgage subject to redemption, imparting only a temporary and usufructuary authority, Rufus, from the first, conducted himself as an indefeasible Sovereign. He had indeed good reason to act upon this principle: like Henry, could he help speculating upon the great probability that Robert might perish in the war, or, if he escaped, might win a Syrian Principality, and very willingly resign the Northern Duchy for the attractive luxuries of the South?

Rufus acting as Duke of Normandy rules wisely.

Chances in favour of Rufus' obtaining absolute possession of Normandy.

Let us take another view, equally favourable, —Robert might return home broken and penniless, without strength, health, or money, unable to discharge the bond.

Or again—Supposing Robert re-appeared victorious, full of health and spirit, well supplied with the means, would he be able to dislodge Rufus from the Nest?—Rufus fully determined that he should not. Possession is nine points of the Law; and Rufus reckoned that possession continued

1096—1101 during five years, would make him completely Master of Normandy in the Year Eleven hundred, the end of Robert's tryste, when the term would be concluded.

This state of things was very advantageous to Normandy. Rufus, considering the Duchy as his own, ruled prudently and discreetly, restoring good order and the regular administration of justice. The country flourished, and enjoyed peace; the harvest housed securely, the roads travelled without fear.

Normandy—Rufus resumes the Crown domains. Makes good appointments in the Church.

Contenting the body of the people, Rufus also conciliated the Norman Church by filling up the vacant Sees and Abbeys: his nominations were good; his choice wise, though arbitrarily exercised. It was needful for Rufus to reclaim the royal domains, unwisely and illegally alienated by Robert. In performing this delicate and somewhat hazardous financial operation, he acted so cautiously as not to excite any hostility on the part of the Baronage, at least, none which they dared to shew: nay, his interest amongst them encreased. All those who were Anglo-Norman, that is to say, whose Baronies were situated both in Normandy and in England, truly appreciated the advantage of an undivided allegiance. To them, the reunion of the English Crown and the Norman Coronal was peculiarly beneficial. William of Evreux, Walter Gifford Earl of Buckingham, who became the Husband

of Agnes de Ribeaumont before the end of the reign, Hugh of Avranches Earl of Chester, all were most joyful and hearty in his cause. 1096—1101

§ 6. The suppression of the Mowbray conspiracy happened in the year preceding the cession of Normandy. The transactions which led to Anselm's banishment ended about a year onwards. These events, together with the departure of Robert Courthose, Stephen of Albemarle, Odo of Bayeux, and others, cleared away a very large proportion of the formidable opponents who contended against Rufus, and brought forward conspicuously those whom he formerly considered as his friends. Rufus encreases and consolidates his party.

Robert de Mellent, the Prud'homme, gained very much in popular reputation, and was considered more and more as the leading spirit of the age. Mellent had nevertheless been recently engaged in a transaction anything but consistent with the character of a Prud'homme. It will be recollected that he had repudiated his wife Godechilda de Toeny, who was taken by Baldwin of Boulogne, afterwards King of Jerusalem; and immediately afterwards, he, Robert de Mellent, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Hugh de Vermandois. He parted with his old wife to a brother Crusader, and received in exchange a new one, a brother Crusader's daughter. The marriage ended most unhappily, though it encreased his consequence for the time, by connecting him Robert de Mellent. His unhappy marriage with Elizabeth of Vermandois.

1096–1101 with the Royal family of France. Mellent, holding large possessions both appertaining to the Crowns of France and of England, Philip's Liegeman and Vassal of Rufus, contrived to retain the confidence of both Sovereigns. It was said that a question of peace or of war could at any time be decided by his free choice and will. With Rufus, Mellent cultivated the closest personal intimacy. He had rendered invaluable services to the Crown, when Anselm was hooted down by the King's party in the Council of Rockingham. He enjoyed, as is often the case, a reputation for sense and talent which his conduct does not appear to have entirely justified; but the notion of his capacity continued till the last. The world will rarely consent to be undeceived with regard to its favourites.

Henry de Novoburgo, Mellent's brother, Earl of Warwick.

Mellent possessed much practical cleverness and acuteness. He became the familiar friend of the Porphyrogenitus, without in any degree exciting the King's vigilant jealousy. Henry de Newburgh, Mellent's brother, whom we incidentally noticed as a mediator between the Conqueror and Courthose, now appears more prominently. He had received from Rufus a grant of the lands formerly belonging to *Thurkill* of Warwick: a grant which seems to have made him equal to an Earl in importance and dignity. Earl of Warwick, he is often called; and when in subsequent times Anglo-Saxon alliances became

a species of honour, Heralds and Genealogists not unwilling to adopt the grateful tradition, believed he acquired the domain by marriage with an English heiress. He possessed extraordinary influence, chiefly through the benignity of his disposition, and though engaged in many important affairs, history rarely mentions him; and the principal memorials of his comparatively tranquil life are found in the numerous ecclesiastical endowments made by him, including Warwick Priory. He also managed to keep in favour with Rufus and Henry. 1096—1101

Belesme, Count of Alençon and Earl of Shrewsbury.

Robert Belesme Count of Alençon and Ponthieu, received a very great accession of power in England. Upon the death of his brother Hugh, he obtained the Earldom of Shrewsbury as his heir. He paid three thousand pounds to Rufus to be let into possession of the inheritance. The rules of succession in cases of this description still left a wide margin for the expatiation of Royal prerogative. According to our legal and constitutional phraseology, such a payment ought to be called a Relief; but contemporary writers treat this, and other similar transactions, in the light of redemptions, bargains, or purchases; and about the same time, Belesme acquired the inheritance of his kinsman Roger de Butley, also for a large sum of money.

Belesme's cruelty.

Belesme now had to divide his attention, much more than before, between Normandy and

1096—1101 England; yet such was his activity, that he persecuted his enemies in both countries with undiminished pertinacity. It seemed as if, by division, his faculty of tormenting others had been doubled and not halved. Upon the Welsh or Britons in the Marches he exercised direful cruelty. During this period he built the fortifications of Bridgenorth, enlarging the old defences first raised by Ethelfleda, an excellent position. Belesme, in the pride of his heart, could say to himself,—Here may I defy the power even of a King.

Richard de Redvers, Earl of Devon. Tyrell, William de Ponte-Arche. Flambard.

Richard de Redvers, Lord of Oakhampton, and afterwards Earl of Devon, must now be marked as one of the leading Barons in the West; and William de Ponte-Arche, the Keeper of the Treasure-house and Castle at Winchester, never seems to have been removed from his important post during any part of the reign. Walter Tyrell, the Castellan of Poix, married to Adela, the daughter of Richard Gifford, was familiarly companionable with the King. Flambard in full bloom, stout, rosy, hearty; Regent, Justiciar, Prime Minister, Palatinate-Prelate of Durham, replete with energy and power. A discreditable progeny surrounded him; yet whatever his faults may have been he continued affectionate to his persecuted old mother. Thomas Archbishop of York, now without a rival in the Primacy, was waxing old, and could not enjoy his pre-eminence,

Bishops and Chancery men.

and therefore Maurice, Bishop of London and Dean of the Province of Canterbury, acquired a greater prominence in station. William Gifford, the useful Clerk, held the office of Chancellor. William Warlewast continued busy in the Chancery. 1096—1101

The taxes imposed upon the people occasioned encreasing discontent and misery: the superior Landholders, unable to resist the Government demands, oppressed the inferior tenants in their turn. Famine and Pestilence concurred, driving very many of the middling and lower classes to the Crusade. The English Pilgrims, including those who entered the service of Alexis, were reckoned at Twenty thousand. Compared with the resources of the country, the sum required for the Normandy mortgage money was so moderate as not to afford any reason for the spoliations committed by Rufus upon the moveables of the Church. When thus employed, he made his famous mocking speech, telling the Clergy they might scrape the gold and silver from off the dead men's bones. This taunt affords a partial clue to his conduct: he delighted in plaguing the Priesthood; but, prudent and contriving, he also wished to spare his Treasury, in order to obtain a fund for the projects which his actions speedily disclosed.

§ 7. Rufus knew his strength. The fame of England's treasures always preceded his Royal banner, and cleared the way for his enterprizes: 1097. Rufus commences war against Philip, King of France.

1096—1101 he now commenced a formidable hostility against the French King. According to universal report, Rufus, through his mother Matilda, asserted a right to the Carlovingian or Capetian Crown. It would puzzle any Diplomatist, Herald, or Genealogist, to guess how Matilda's lineage could establish or suggest this unreasonable pretension. Abbot Suger, equally distinguished as a Churchman, a Statesman, and an Historian, very important also for his testimony upon English affairs, records the claim, abstaining from comment or refutation. But Rufus needed not any lawful plea: he was devoured by pride; and his ambition was encouraged by the contempt into which Philip's royal authority had fallen.

Philip's adulterous connexion had the usual consequence of introducing those discomforts which, creating unhappiness in private families, are full of danger to royalty. One of the many results imparting a salutary effect to the authority of the Church in matrimonial causes, was the occasional obstruction of illegitimate unions, giving rise to contested claims of succession. From the unbounded license which prevailed, in defiance of the Ecclesiastical tribunals, we may estimate the quarrels prevented even by their limited jurisdiction. Bertrada had already two children by Philip, Charles and Florus. The poetic character of a step-mother was liberally bestowed, by common opinion, upon Bertrada.

It was believed that she would not scruple at any means by which she could exclude Prince Louis from the succession: whether force, or stratagem, or assassination;—her son Charles would then become the heir, though it was impossible to consider him as legitimate; and had she accomplished her plans, a fresh source of trouble would have opened. 1096–1101

Bertrada, accused of seeking to exclude Louis, the son of Philip by Bertha, from the throne.

Philip himself, was very unfit for war: natural indolence stifled his talents and capacity: disease encreased upon him, he was thoroughly degraded by sensuality. Louis was yet very young, and possessed much spirit.—Boy as he was, Rufus hated him as a rival.

A plausible reason was in store, justifying the hostilities commenced by Rufus: he renewed the old quarrel of his father for the Beaucassin, Pontoise, and fatal Mantes. Could that entire Marchland be won, France would be deprived of her best protecting frontier. Political and feudal relations gave Rufus great advantages in this quarter. A large number of the Baronage were men of double allegiance, Norman Barons holding lands also under Capetian supremacy, or *vice versâ*. The effects of this complicated relationship again became apparent. They could not serve two masters, and they naturally chose the richer—the money-abounding King of England. Not merely did he attract those who might be excused by their position, but many

Rufus demands the Beaucassin.

Influence obtained by the wealth of Rufus.

1096—1101 others, deprived of that justification, Barons, Knights and Vavassours, purely French by tenure, Philip's undivided Liege-men, passed over to Rufus: they did not owe him any allegiance, but they coveted his pay.

The real or supposed bonds of feudality melted instantly at the touch of the fine silver: the Baronage yielded to interest or followed their inclinations, just as occasion served. Robert de Mellent, the *Prud'homme*, though so proud of his newly-contracted alliance with the royal House of Capet, was the first who declared for Rufus. Interest and personal intimacy with the King of England decided the Wise man: he received the English garrisons in all his Castles, and opened the way to the Isle of France. English money continued to be distributed most liberally: many received the subsidies, more longed eagerly for partnership in the sweets. Guy de la Roche-Guyon is dishonourably distinguished by name, amidst the crowd of greedy participators: he surrendered his Castles of La Roche-Guyon and Veteuil to Rufus, both very important, commanding the Seine. They are situated upon a bend of the river, and enabled Rufus to intercept all navigation to or from Paris.

Castles obtained by Rufus—Gisors fortified.

The army of Rufus was large and threatening. People said he could have battled against Julius Cæsar: it was always by the Roman standard that they measured heroism. There was a wonderful

inclination to fanfaronade amongst the Anglo-Normans: an awful tendency to magnify and exaggerate. Many of the Beaucassin Marchers were sturdy and warlike, and opposed Rufus strenuously. Some lucky captures, by which they got very good ransoms,—a stronger incentive than loyalty,—encouraged them to resistance against the Anglo-Norman Enemy. Rufus, however, gained one great advantage: he recovered Gisors, the Lordship of the Archbishop of Rouen, so inconsiderately as well as illegally surrendered by Courthose to King Philip: the bribe paid out of stolen goods. Rufus excusably kept the domain. Here, Belesme, under the direction of Rufus, displayed his great military skill, planning and raising the Fortress which became equally the protection of Normandy, and the terror of her foes, opposite to Chaumont and Trie, fourteen leagues from Paris, fourteen leagues from Rouen, jutting out against France.—A permanent advanced post, from which the three Leopards afterwards defied the Lilies, admirably adapted for defence, the walls as strong as art could make them, with many peculiarities in the plan, and many ingenious contrivances; flanking bulwarks, and covered ways, to which the peasant points his finger with wonder. The ruins are still standing, singularly interesting from possessing such a certificate of origin.

1096—1101

Rufus recovers Gisors—where the Castle is built by Belesme.

Rufus, whilst the Castle of Gisors was rising, could afford to wait: he suspended prosecuting

1098. Sept. 27. Rufus enters France.

1096—1101 the campaign. In the following year, he renewed the war. William of Poitou, who either had not fully made up his mind to leave Countess Mauberge and content himself with her recollections, her portrait, and the Syrian damsels, or who was detained by want of money, allied himself to Rufus. Again, a very powerful army was collected, and the Anglo-Norman King headed the march. It was a night of terror when they first took up their quarters at Conches in France. The sky blazed, the electric announcement of the bloodshed in Palestine. Fires were kindled also upon the earth, for Rufus ravaged and devastated the country as far as Pontoise. Next he besieged Chaumont: the war was unusually bloody, both parties became exasperated, and great loss was sustained on both sides. Rufus, however, had the advantage, and scared the French; but the affairs of Wales recalled him into England.

1097. Rufus prepares for the recovery of Maine.

§ 8. During these French expeditions, Rufus always steadily kept in view and pursued the enterprize most nearly concerning his honour. Normandy lacked her complement. Courthose could only transfer that which he had and held. The cession did not give unto Rufus the whole of his father's inheritance. He could not write himself *Dux Normannorum et Cœnomannorum.* His honour was blemished, his dignity contemned, until Maine should be regained; and the Manceaux were more alienated from the Nor-

mans than before. Helias continued to govern with prudence and wisdom, really possessing not a few of the noble qualities and qualifications fondly ascribed to ideal chivalry: daring and pious, strenuous, mild, and affectionate, somewhat hasty, but without any tendency to harshness or cruelty. Moreover he had married a worthy wife, Matilda, daughter of Gervais, Seigneur of Château-du-Loir, with whom he received in dowry a small and compact Angevine territory. 1096—1101

Anjou always pretended to the superiority of Maine. Normandy demanded in addition, the possession and the inheritance,—neither insisted, yet both persisted; and the conduct to be adopted by Helias required great dexterity; whilst fencing against those foreign opponents, his own people needed cautious management. Mans was approaching rapidly to the condition of a free city, merely owning the Count's sovereignty. The municipal constitution of Mans was in full activity; the Burgesses meeting regularly in their Commune, the Bishop being an integral portion of the Corporation; their Mayor. Helias de la Flèche apprehensive of Anjou and Normandy.

During this period Bishop Hoel died: a good Bishop, but very Norman, never forgetting the obligations he owed to the Conqueror, his defunct patron. 1097. Death of Hoel, Bishop of Le Mans. Helias nominates Geoffrey. Clergy and people elect Hildebert.

The Conqueror, not entertaining much respect for privileges, secular or ecclesiastical, had appointed Bishop Hoel by his prerogative. Helias

1096—1101 considered he possessed the same regality, and nominated the Dean, Geoffrey, a Breton, nephew of Judicael, Bishop of Aleth, who, relying upon the Count's presentation, prepared a sumptuous entertainment upon the day when he expected to be confirmed and installed. Contrary to the old proverb, the Host had reckoned without his guests. Neither Clergy nor People would accept the Dean: they issued their own *congé d'élire* of themselves, and chose Archdeacon Hildebert, the best poet of his age, wise, pious, and clever. Geoffrey's promotion came to nothing, and the banquet he had prepared to celebrate his Pontificate was eaten by his dependants just as merrily as if he had not been ousted; but in good time he obtained compensation, becoming Archbishop of Rouen.

Helias wishes to take the Cross.

Homage had not yet been rendered by Helias de la Flèche to Rufus, who, standing in the place of Robert, and therefore representing the Conqueror, claimed this personal submission. Fulk Réchin made the same demand. Both were dangerous neighbours, but Rufus excited most apprehension; and Helias de la Flèche was anxious to preserve his virtual freedom without any offensive assertion of independence. Helias entertained a strong desire, and in him, without doubt, truly devotional, to visit the Holy Land. All Crusaders were privileged by the Holy See. Helias relying, more than previous experience could well

warrant, upon the generosity of Rufus, made a bold attempt to place himself under the King's protection; and when Courthose had taken the Cross, then Helias appeared before Rufus in his Court at Rouen. After a long and friendly discourse, Helias declared that, obeying Urban's counsel, he was preparing to join the Pilgrims. He humbly besought the King's friendship, and that he might depart in the King's peace.—"Go where you choose," replied arrogant Rufus; "but "first surrender Maine and Mans; all that my "Father had, I will have also."—Helias answered that he held his County by hereditary right, derived from his ancestors. He had received that inheritance freely, freely would he transmit the inheritance to his children; yet he was not unwilling to abide by the amicable decision of a competent tribunal. Let the right be investigated by the supreme Legislature, the High Court, in which the Kings, the Nobles, and the Bishops are assembled; let the claim be examined according to the laws of the country, and by that judgment he would stand or fall. This proposal is remarkable, indicating that Helias assumed the existence of a High Court of Peers, possessing jurisdiction over the whole Capetian Monarchy—that Realm to which the name of *France* can scarcely yet be given. But the answer, however reasonable, provoked in Rufus a paroxysm of angry insanity—"I will only plead

1096—1101

Rufus refuses the terms of accommodation proposed by Helias.

1096—1101 with spear and sword," replied he; encreasing in extravagance:—from the speaker's violence, his language became almost unmeaning and unintelligible:—he declared that he would bring a hundred thousand men into Maine, for the purpose of bringing Mans and Maine to destruction. Helias abandoned the Crusade, quietly replying to Rufus, that the arms with which he had intended to assail the Infidels, should now be turned against his nearer enemies.

Rufus insults Helias and threatens him. Helias prepares for defence.

For a time, Rufus suspended the execution of his menaces: being involved in his dispute with Anselm, and also employed against the French, and in Wales, he refrained from attacking the Manceaux. Hot and angry as he appeared to be, Rufus was fully able to exercise prudent, even crafty caution, but on this occasion he was over-slack, and displayed an unwonted remissness: delaying, and tardy, his favourite object seemed blotted from his memory.

§ 9. Somewhat of leisure being restored to Rufus, it might have been expected that he would forthwith renew hostilities against Helias de la Flèche and the Manceaux, but, unlike himself, when he returned to Normandy, he paused. This collapse was very ungrateful to Robert de Belesme, who urged him to resume the war. Rufus still demurred—he had not pardoned the great affront he had received from Helias: that was impossible. Could Rufus be doubtful as to

1098. January and March. Belesme excites Rufus to commence hostilities.

Reluctance of Rufus.

success—he who had never known fear—yet he demurred and made excuses—the winter season, the inclement weather, and the like. Such extreme nervous inertness was very unusual with Rufus: Belesme urged him the more; so that at length Rufus agreed to move; not however heartily or with alacrity, but for shame, and lest he should be thought fainthearted. 1096—1101

Belesme was actuated by personal animosity against Helias; but he was also astute, a good manager; and with the money which he received from Rufus, he fortified his own Castles, employing the King's means for his private purposes: a suspicion of this double-dealing may perhaps have contributed to the reluctance which Rufus displayed. Belesme, who had usurped much upon Maine, continued his encroachments. He warred atrociously. During the Lent of this year, it was reckoned that upwards of three hundred prisoners, confined in his dungeons, died of hunger, cold, duresse, and torture. A few saved their lives by paying large ransoms. In such cases there is often a singular conflict between firmness,—not always distinguishable from obstinacy—and cruelty: the Oppressed determined not to let the Tyrant get his contemplated profit, and the tyrant determined not to surrender his chance. Belesme's cruelties.

Helias de la Flèche fought valiantly against Belesme, and gave him repeated checks: but, sur- Helias de la Flèche captured by

1096—1101 prised by stratagem near Dangeuil, he was captured and brought before the King. Overjoyed at this piece of good fortune, Rufus cast Helias into prison. Belesme had done for Rufus what he had not cared to attempt for himself—The King now summoned a great assembly of the Norman Barons. Accusing himself before them of negligence in having delayed attempting to recover his father's inheritance, he informed them of the important capture, and craved their advice.

Belesme, and cast into prison by Rufus.

1098. June, July. Rufus invades Maine.

§ 10. They unanimously counselled an expedition against Maine. Rufus had been wavering, he was not quite himself, nevertheless such counsel fell upon a ready ear; the Barons gave him the stimulus he needed. Frenchmen and Burgundians, Flemings and Bretons, presented themselves as usual, opening their horny hands to receive his money. The forces, thus raised, were estimated at fifty thousand men. Rufus advanced as far as Alençon on the border, in the month of June, the period between the two Harvests, when the old stores were nearly exhausted, and the new crop not got in. The people of Mans, thoroughly averse to Norman domination, prepared for defence; their Commune, Bishop and Senators assembled every day in Session. Great alarm was created. Nevertheless there was the usual deficiency of any firm principle. Rufus entered the country, many influential Chieftains submitted; Ralph de Beau-

mont, Rotrou de Montfort, and that veteran partizan, Geoffrey of Mayenne. Gilles de Sully, one of the sturdiest warriors in France, an old retainer of the Louvre, watching the march of the Norman forces from the summit of a hill, exclaimed that on this side the Alps never had he seen so mighty an army;—probably an excuse for his surrender. 1096—1101

Rufus advanced into Maine proper; Balaon, within four leagues of the City, considered the key of the country, was surrendered or sold by Payen de Mont-doubleau. Rufus transferred the Castle to Belesme, and a garrison of three hundred picked Knights was placed therein. The war however was conducted irregularly; nothing like systematic campaigning can be discerned. The peasantry of Maine fought bravely against the enemy: the Norman troops, broken up into parties of marauders, robbed and plundered, treading down crops, cutting up vineyards, and doing an infinity of small mischiefs. Want of provisions began to be severely felt. Oats rose to ten *sous Manceaux* a bushel or *sestier*. The total absence of any species of Commissariat seems almost inconceivable, and Rufus determined to retire till after the Harvest. Bad generalship of Rufus.

§ 11. Concurrently with the invasion thus made by Rufus, his rival Fulk Réchin, claiming Maine as Chief or Supreme Lord, appeared in the field, growling and snarling for the same Fulk of Anjou invades Maine also.

1096—1101 prey. Fulk was accompanied by his son Geoffrey, now associated to him in the government; they occupied Mans, and gladly were the Angevines received.

The competitors dodged rather than fought. Rufus in or about Balaon, Fulk in Mans, kept one another at bay: when Rufus retreated, Fulk besieged Balaon; but when he returned to the charge, the Angevine withdrew in his turn, and kept his station in Le Mans. The news of Fulk Réchin's movements reached the imprisoned Helias, not at all to his comfort. Helias, pondering in his barred dungeon, thought, that continuing in the power of Rufus, there was no telling what his enemies Rufus and Fulk, entirely unrestrained by honour, conscience, or principle, might not agree upon, to his detriment. What the Angevines held, the Angevines would try to keep. If they established themselves in Maine, his prospects would be far darker than if the country were subjected to Norman supremacy. Liberty at any price; and then Helias would trust to his own good cause and fortune. The Norman had been beaten out before—why not again?

Helias dreads Anjou more than Normandy.

Helias therefore communicated with Bishop Hildebert and the citizens, and it was agreed that if William recovered Mans, Helias should be delivered from captivity. Fulk Réchin continued unsuspecting of this negociation. He filled Mans with his troops, and not only prepared

Negociations for the liberation of Helias.

for defence, but commenced an aggressive warfare. Rufus now advanced boldly and in person, and the result of the secret understanding became manifest. Fulk took refuge in a monastery: his own men, his own Angevines, had been consulting with the party amongst the Manceaux who were favourable to Rufus; and, alleging it was impossible to defend the city against the Norman forces, they agreed to surrender. Rufus triumphed into the City, followed by three hundred mailed Knights. The bells pealed merrily. Bishop Hildebert and the Clergy come forth in procession with their banners waving, their chaunts resounding, and accompanied and surrounded by the hailing multitude, Rufus is conducted into the Cathedral. Down with Anjou—up with Normandy,—the Standard of Normandy hoisted on the Fortresses which the Conqueror had built, the Royal Tower, Mont-Barbe, Mont-Barbatulé. The treaty was ratified. Helias is to be released, but deprived of all his possessions: Maine, every Castle, every foot of ground which William the Conqueror held, is to be ruled by William Rufus his son. Rufus regained the possession, valuable in itself, but of which the value was so extremely encreased by family sentiment and excited feeling.

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Mans given up to Rufus.

§ 12. Rufus kept his word: Helias was liberated from his dungeon at Bayeux, and brought before Rufus, squalid and unshorn, with the smell

Helias liberated, requests to be received into the friendship of Rufus.

1096—1101 of the prison clinging to him; in this condition he solicited the King's mercy. Helias fully acquiesced in his own deposition. Rufus shall rule the territory unchallenged: all that humbled Helias now wishes for, is to find grace in the King's eyes, and to serve under him as a retainer and a friend. —"Yet," said he,—"inasmuch as the County came to me by inheritance, let me retain my nominal dignity; let me be called Count."—Rufus was about to assent; but the Count of Mellent, dreading lest Helias might win the King's favour and diminish his influence, strongly advised Rufus to the contrary.—"The Manceaux, are never to be trusted; Helias only seeks to enter your service as a traitor and a deceiver." —Rufus yielded to Mellent's counsel, and relapsing into his usual temper, spurned the demand which the suppliant opponent had made.

Rufus repels the offer—Helias prepares for hostilities.

Helias urged the request again, with more courtesy and more humility, but the transient feeling of generosity which had faintly flashed in Rufus passed entirely away: he raged.—"Nay then," quoth Helias, "marvel not if I employ all my endeavours to recover my ancestorial inheritance." "Scoundrel, begone, depart, fly!" exclaimed Rufus, stuttering and foaming as was his manner when the paroxysms of anger possessed him.—"Away—do thy utmost against me—do thy worst." Helias withdrew, fully determining to accept the challenge; and he returned to his

wife's Seigneurie, preparing to renew hostilities, securing and fortifying the small towns and fortresses which the territory contained, Château du Loir and Mayet, neither of them particularly strong from situation, and therefore needing the more care. 1096—1101

Rufus determined to return to England, having left Robert de Belesme as Commander of Maine.—The Count and Earl of Alençon, and of Ponthieu and of Shrewsbury, did his duty: the office suited his taste as well as his interest: he fortified Balaon and other of his strongholds, the King's money being well spent by him, so far as the defence of the country was concerned. Mans seemed to be loyal, but Rufus used due precaution to ensure that dubious loyalty. The lofty towers of the Cathedral were strong as any Castle, and Rufus had endeavoured to compel or persuade Bishop Hildebert to surrender possession thereof. This measure was not effected; but the command of the garrison devolved upon Walter Fitz-Auger, an able soldier and full of resource, who, with a strong body of Norman Knights, held the Conqueror's Citadels, the Royal Tower, Mont Barbe, and Mont Barbatulé. Precautions taken by Rufus for the security of Mans.

§ 13. The arrangements directed by Rufus for the occupation and defence of Maine and Normandy, were sufficiently judicious: nevertheless his movements and journeyings exhibited the disturbances and irregularities of an excited 1099. April. Rufus returns to England.

1096—1101 brain. Brutalized by the most degrading lusts, there still appeared the phosphorescent gleams of the graces quenched by sin. Acuteness and caprice, prudence and uncontrolled passion, drove him about here and there. His natural state was morbid activity, occasionally wearied into morbid quiescence. The management of his dominions kept him in constant harass and worry: he was always on the fret.

In Normandy, virtually an absolute government, the tone and Spirit of authority depended on the Sovereign's presence. England possessed a well-organized Cabinet Regency: Flambard was thoroughly dependable, nevertheless the King's supervision was very frequently needed, and now most urgently. The affairs of Scotland were still in course of settlement, whilst the Cymri resumed their incursions. The Northmen, invading Wales, occasioned great distress to the Britons, and unquestionably some anxiety to Rufus. They disclaimed hostility against England, but were they to be believed?—Did not the Danes keep up their continual claim to the Crown of England? It was during this inroad that Hugh de Montgomery was slain.

Portents. England was found by Rufus in great trouble and anxiety: stormy and inclement seasons, seeming as if there never would be fair weather again. The sky burning; a most bright and awful Comet; strange elemental perturbations, fountains

flowing with blood, a phenomenon repeated in the subsequent year, indicating earthquakes, which the awe-stricken fragmentary Chroniclers have not recorded. Amidst all these calamities, Rufus, racked by the gnawing torment of insatiate ambition, was encreasing the general distress and discontent:—heavy taxes, and, more grievous than all, extreme rigour in enforcing the Forest Laws. He accumulated the vigour of an orderly legislation upon the savage principles of earlier days: the strictness of regular government denying the compensations derived from irregular barbarity. The wealthier English were peculiarly obnoxious to his tyranny; but the Normans were scarcely less vexed by his interference with their rights and amusements. Avarice and cruelty exasperated the sufferings he inflicted—fines and confiscations added to torments, mutilations, death. Physiologists may investigate the question of transmitted propensities. The Conqueror displayed the love of the Chase as an inveterate passion, clouding his wisdom: Rufus laboured under the same passion, in the form of an unceasing diseased appetite; yet his shrewdness and cunning were rather sharpened than diminished thereby—there was always method in his madness, and the execution of the Forest Laws became to him one mode of demonstrating his despotic power.

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Encreased rigour of the Forest Laws.

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English Forests, their surpassing beauty.

Although the political state of Britain afforded weighty, real, and urgent reasons for the sudden departure of Rufus from the Continent, and the consequent suspension of the war in Maine, yet he was unquestionably attracted to England quite as much by pleasure. The wide extent of our English Forests, their fresh verdure, and pleasant glades, their ancient trees, and dappled deer, excelled all that could be found in Normandy. Poor indeed by comparison were Brotonne or Lihons,—or even Fairy Broceliande. Wild and picturesque Rockingham, the oaks of Windsor, the amplitude of Alfred's awful Selwood, courtly Clarendon, all supplied Rufus with rich and various sports: Rufus loved them all; but there was one forest loved by Rufus more than all; no forest so favourite with Rufus as that Forest which ought to have been most hateful to him, the Jetten-Wald, the Eotena-Wald, the Giant's Weald, where curses hovered under every shade.

The New Forest—the odium thereby attached to the Conqueror's memory.

Time usually diminishes the impression of horror; here, Time encreased the feeling. Each revolving year made the New Forest more fearful. Every fall of the leaf imparted deeper sadness, every red bursting bud renewed the tokens of mourning. Of all the sins committed by the Conqueror, none in popular opinion ought to have hung heavier on his soul than the merciless selfishness which had driven away the

inhabitants, sparing neither the Home of Man nor the House of God, to give range for the hound and room for the deer. 1096—1101

It is quaintly observed by St. Jerome, that in every vocation, sinners have obeyed the call of holiness, the Lawyer, the Physician, the Statesman, the Soldier, the Fisherman, the Herdman, the Mime, the Slave, the Publican—no state or condition so mean or so godless as always to repel the Holy Spirit, save one—No Hunter, St. Jerome says, was ever canonized. Unless justified by necessity, the blood of any of God's creatures is never shed unaccompanied by responsibility. The beasts of the field and the fowls of the air are included in the primordial Covenant of Love—and whenever slaughter becomes sport, the sport verges upon injustice, and rushes from injustice to the worst hardening of the heart.

The vestiges of the former populations which whilome cheered the Jetten-Wald, rendered the Royal solitude more unnatural and desolate: they testified against the waste of tyranny.

The years circling on, since the Conqueror's death, had rendered the scene more pensive and more lovely. The tofts where the cottages once stood, no longer betrayed the fresh tokens of desolation. The door had been broken away from the hinges, the ground-plot overgrown with gorse and fern, the hearth-stone concealed by heath and harebell:—the unroofed and dilapi-

1096—1101 dated Chancel was tapestried with ivy, and the bright fox-glove, and sweet twining honey-suckle adorned and perfumed the Altar, springing amidst the rifted slabs, watered by the dews of heaven.

Amongst the sixty churches which had been ruined, the sanctuary below the mystic Malwood was peculiarly remarkable; all around had been stamped by Rufus as peculiarly his own. You reach the Malwood easily from the Leafy Lodge in the favourite deer-walk, the Lind-hurst, the Dragon's wood, where Rufus was wont to bouse and carouse, preparing for the sport ending with the "breaking of the deer," the joyous butchery. A scanty and gloomy inhabitancy dwelt dispersed amidst the vast silence of this magnificent desolation: the forest Swains, grudging against the King's delights: fierce and burly Prickers and Keepers, their coarse natures aggravated by the cruelty of their calling and their privileged impunity in all acts of oppression and wrong: here and there the grim Charcoal-burner, whose employment, like that of his cousin-miners, was often hereditary: and some few families of English Churls, the relics of the Peasantry evicted and ejected by their Sovereign.

Visions and Superstitions of the Forests.

If any vestiges of the primeval belief of the Teutons, any practices derived from their mystic rites, subsisted amongst the English people;—the Augury disclosing futurity; the Song bestowing fertility upon the field; the dire Imprecation

against the enemy, they would surely be fostered amongst such solitudes, now becoming more appalling. Nocturnal Demons haunted the Forests: grim Riders on the Coal-black steeds, whose horns resounded, driving before them the loathly hounds with fiery eyes. More terrific, the visions of meridian day. In the full brightness of noon, when the Sportsman gallopped along the clear green paths—those forest-roads in which some latent cause checks the sapling's growth—uprose the gaunt Spectre. Fiends grinned at the Wayfarer through bush and brier. 1096—1101

Rufus braved and scorned these fantastic portents: no Goblin could scare him from the Jetten-Wald: nevertheless, it was strange that he could conceal from himself the sad realities marking the ground as accursed to the Norman dynasty. Here had his brother Richard died; none could precisely declare the cause of Richard's death. Imagination dared not clothe the fact with any additional circumstances—neither wonderment, nor curiosity, nor malignity, had raised any accusing suspicions which might designate the author of the deed, shrouded by indelible melancholy. Were the sins of the fathers to be here visited on the children, the ancestors' weird to fall on their progeny?—The locality suggested ideas of blood, and afforded the opportunity for deeds of blood. With most men, such scenes inspire instinctive dread; but

Continued mystery as to the cause of the death of Richard, the Conqueror's youngest son.

1096—1101 Rufus felt no foreboding, and took no heed. He was fascinated by an irresistible influence, constantly called to the New Forest by a voice he could not disobey.

The Forest was his home, all was his own within the fatal boundary: the vert and the venison, the turf and the tree, the soil and the air, every living creature which flew on the wing or coursed along the ground, bird and beast, man, and man's destiny, all were within his power. No law, no will, except the King's, absolute, unchecked, unlimited, unwatched, uncontrolled; the Brach or the Hound dragged through the King's great stirrup, and the live flesh scooped from the foot of the writhing animal; the Poacher brought forth before the King, and his poor eyes torn out, or scorched by the glare of the glowing brass; the Deer-slayer swinging high on the bough.—Noble sport, Royal sport! Could Rufus here dread any mischance, any enmity?

1099. June, July. Le Mans recovered by Helias de la Flèche.

§ 14. Whilst the Norman garrison domineering in Le Mans, afforded apparent support to the authority of Rufus, their irksome presence diminished his moral strength; the citizens learned to hate the Normans more bitterly, and longed more intensely for the restoration of the ancient dynasty. Helias patiently waited his opportunity for about a twelvemonth, until communicating with his party, and having disturbed

the country by a sudden resumption of hostilities, they opened the gates to him. He was received with the greatest joy. The Castles held for the King and defied the revolt. Fitz-Auger fired the town by showers of red-hot slag and coals shot forth from his machines; but the City continued in rebellion. 1096—1101

Belesme despatched a messenger, one Amalgis, to England, inviting the King's immediate presence and assistance. Amalgis, on landing, learns that the King hunts at Clarendon. He posts thither: no Rufus there—he is hunting in the New Forest—on to Hampshire. Hither Amalgis hastens, and finds the King, coursing with his companions: Henry Beauclerk, Ralph de Aquis, Walter Tyrrell may be amongst the number. Rufus eagerly enquired what news?—Amalgis informed him of the surprize which had deprived him of Mans, the loss being however counterbalanced by the resolute Castle garrisons and Belesme's firm position in Balaon; yet the insurrection is very formidable, and unless succour be immediately rendered, the loss may become irremediable. Without consultation, without consideration, Rufus turned his horse's head towards the coast,—so impetuously, that, according to a colloquial expression almost adopted as a fact, he was said to have demolished the stone-wall standing in his way. Without guards, without attendants, without advisers, Rufus rushed to the

The News brought to Rufus in the New Forest.

1096—1101 Rufus crosses to Normandy.

port of embarkation,—Southampton. The only bark ready was old and crazy, tossing in the turbid river; the sky overcast, the wind blustering; the scanty crew urged him to delay his passage, at least till the foul weather should subside. He had entered the vessel alone, bare as the meanest wanderer, but he commanded them instantly to put off. *Did ye ever hear of a shipwrecked King?* was his reply. Evening was darkly clouding: the crew pulled out—the vessel drove with her swelling sails before the gale: the sky cleared, the breeze became favourable, and when the following morning shone fresh and bright, they were safe in sight of Tolques, and making up cheerily to the Norman shore.

Lands safely at Tolques.

As the custom is in summer, the people gathered on the beach to look at the English vessel, and to meet her as she ran in, dividing the dashing surges, and grounding her keel upon the grinding shingle. "What news, what news of the King?" The King himself answered the question. Rufus was received with tumultuous joy. His bold carriage and military frankness were most winning to the multitude. Hurrah! onwards.—Mounting the Parish Priest's sorry horse, a motley and encreasing crowd of peasantry assembled, under whose escort he reached Bonneville.

Le Mans abandoned by Helias.

Rufus began this short and last campaign with superabounding vigour. The prestige of

his authority depended much upon the subju- 1096—1101
gation of Maine. Pride conjoined with interest, state policy and personal feeling, all urged him to exertion, the real political importance of the objects at stake being encreased by their moral value. Rufus issued his summons throughout the Duchy; very large forces speedily mustered. He advanced rapidly against Mans. Helias immediately abandoned the city, retreating to Château du Loir. Sorely and sadly had Le Mans been punished by the Castle artillery. Sparing the sullen crest-fallen burghers, Rufus, indignantly traversing the smoking ruins, made no stay whatever, and escaping any fatal accident like that which befel his father in smouldering Mantes, chased across the country, plundering, burning and devastating as he advanced. Hélias trusting to his good cause, continued quietly in Château du Loir.

Rufus advances through Mans to Mayet.

Rufus, on his march, came before Mayet, a place, which, in the ordinary French phraseology, would be designated as a *misérable bicocque;* but having been fortified by Helias, opposed a resolute resistance. Rampires and palisadoes strengthened the walls, whilst Helias watched proceedings with his picked men at Château du Loir. Rufus came before Mayet on Friday. "To-morrow let the assault be made," was the command he gave. Actively and boldly did Knights and Soldiers prepare on Saturday

Truce of God observed by Rufus.

1096–1101 morning to storm the town; when certain of the Clergy, pious and earnest, came forward, beseeching Rufus to observe the Truce of God, the respite which the precepts of the Church attempted to obtain for mankind during the Lord's holy day, beginning at noon on the Seventh-day, and enduring until the Monday morn. Rufus observed no precepts of the Church: no place, no time, no day to him was holy: it might have been thought desperate to make such a proposition to the King, yet, strange to say, he seemed subdued; manifested none of his usual perverseness or impiety—he neither scoffed nor scolded, but assented to the monition, and availed himself of the day of rest.

Early on the Monday, the onslaught began. Incautiously, if not unwisely, Rufus had caused the fosses of Mayet to be filled with fascines or similar stuff. These were kindled by the besieged. The blaze and flame arising from the materials provided by the Normans, as the means of approaching the walls, drove the assailers away. The Mayet garrison were desperately brave. The difficulties which this poor fortress presented, troubled and disturbed Rufus exceedingly, and he continued to direct the operations in person, vexation exasperating his angry mood. The garrison exulted, defending themselves merrily and spiritedly. Rufus exposed himself desperately. Whizzing from a catapult, placed aloft on

Rufus flies from Mayet, under the influence of frantic fear.

a tower, a stone shattered the skull of a Knight standing by the King's side: Rufus was besprent with brain and gore. *Fresh meat for the King's kitchen, ready to be cooked for the King's supper,* the brutal besieged cried out, as they saw the corpse fall from the saddle. Rufus was entirely overcome: the danger thus incurred, the shock, the contempt and hatred evinced, broke his spirit: he could not withstand it. Yielding to the uncontrollable influence of panic fear, that fear in which the heathen recognized the work of the Divinity, he raised the siege.—At the dawn of the following morning, he departed, hurrying to Mans—there he disbanded his forces, and returned to England. 1096—1101

§ 15. The depression was most transient. No sooner had Rufus turned his back upon Mayet, than he cast off all thoughts of gloom with childish levity, or, perhaps, concealed his anxieties from himself, by working his mind up to intense excitement. During his retreat,—a disgraceful retreat in truth,—he burned and ravaged the country; and the defeated of Mayet entered ruined Mans, glorying like a Conqueror. 1099. October. Rufus returns to England.

When in England, Rufus again displayed his pristine cleverness and violent energy. He was still in the vigour of manhood, gifted with exuberant bodily health and strength. The journey, the

1096—1101 change of scene, renewed his powers to an unnatural pitch: he heightened himself again into a state of mental intoxication, yet, in the main, always consistent. Far from relaxing in his previous course, no symptom of faltering could be discerned; he steadily and inflexibly resumed all his schemes of aggrandizement and glory. His fine talent was faintly contending against the influence of foul and debasing lust, and his good sense and wisdom struggling against the disorganization produced by indulged passion, caprice, and anger, and the uncontrolled exercise of power.

Rufus completes the White Tower, builds Westminster Hall, repairs London Bridge.

Rufus encircled himself with magnificence: his plans and aspirations were great in every way: he intuitively felt the political importance possessed by public monuments, and gave a powerful impulse to the rising school of architecture which so peculiarly distinguishes the Anglo-Norman age and people. No Church was raised by the piety of Rufus, but his mind developed itself in military and civil splendour. He completed his Father's work, the Fortress whose walls are saturated with pride and sorrow; the circuit was closed around from gate to gate; the White Tower of London was finished; and the huge Council Chamber on the upper story, with the adjoining Chapel, needed to complete Gundulph's plan, obtained the form which they still retain, sufficiently unimpaired to enable us to

realize the aspect which the structure presented, 1096—1101
when employed for the triple purpose of a Palace, a Castle, and a Prison.

The roaring tides and tumid streams swept away many a pier of the London bridge. These were renewed at great cost. But the Confessor's Palace of Westminster afforded most display for the King's stately genius. The structure became the chief mansion of the Anglo-Norman Kings. The Great White-Hall existing in the Confessor's days had possibly been raised by the Norman architects, who resorted here before the Conquest. But the extensive structure which at this moment receives the popular branch of the Legislature did not satisfy Rufus:—under his directions, another Hall was built upon the meadows and gardens between the Whitehall and the Painted Chamber,—supposed to have been the Confessor's bed-room,—and the mouth of the stream, which, completing Thorney island, fell into the Thames. Other buildings being added, the Quadrangle obtained the denomination of *New Palace Yard.* The New Hall was very stately, planned according to the Angevine fashion, like a Church, a noble nave, with aisles on either side: the ancient walls constitute the entire core of the present structure, and recent repairs have disclosed and destroyed the arches and columns and capitals, the work of the Norman King.

1096—1101

Constitutional influence of Westminster Hall.

Accidents often determine the character of nations. Such an accident was the erection of Westminster Hall. The magnificence of the building,—still pre-eminent,—rendered it peculiarly appropriate for the most important function of an old English King, the administration of justice. The edifice and the Tribunals gave and reflected importance to and upon each other; notwithstanding the continued migrations of the Court, the Palace of Westminster became Royalty's peculiar home.

Upon the High Dais stood the table of marble stone: here, at the foot of the Monarch, sat the Chancellor and his Clerks, when the Seal was opened, and the public functions, annexed to the highest emblem of judicial authority, the Sovereign's symbolical representation, were performed. Here also, in the earliest period, did the King in person, or those Judges who held their Pleas before the King himself, exercise the supreme criminal judicature. Even after all the changes in our jurisprudence, there are still purposes for which the Chancery and the King's Bench are one.

At the entrance of the Hall, on the left side, you passed to the Exchequer. You may yet see, over the doorway, the grotesque effigies of the Teller, with the quaint verses in which his duty is described.

On the right are the Judges of the Common

Pleas. They were not fixed in the Hall until the promulgation of Magna Charta; but Rufus first provided the habitation for them, to which they then had become accustomed,—the written Constitution confirmed the previous usages, and by so doing raised the most steady pillar of the Kingdom's franchises. For the Judges, to whom appertained the decision between man and man, no longer followed the King's person, and though acting in the King's name, were released from their apparent subservience to his arbitrary will. —Honoured be the Bench. Despite of individual vacillations and errors, they have been ruled by obedience to principle, precedent guiding precedent, each successive generation submitting to its predecessors; and the Judges of Westminster Hall have been invested with their peculiar sanctity, obtaining for them a confidence more precious than has been bestowed upon any other Authority in this realm. 1096—1101

§ 16. The last year of the Red King's reign, the last year of the Eleventh century, the Year *Eleven hundred*, marked a period of accumulating terrors and misery.—On the Eve of the Nativity, the Mother night—Yule night—that Night when the Ecliptic sphere turns and rolls upwards into the cycle of lengthening days, began the Year Eleven hundred, not joyfully, but accompanied by gloomy forebodings. 1100. The last year of the reign of Rufus.

Celestial signs continued to be associated

1096—1101 with earthly calamities: the sky reddening and alive with quivering blaze; deluges of rain; the wains sunk up to the axles in the mire; the fields swamped; elms and oaks standing out amidst the waters; the hay floating in the glazed meads; crops washed away and destroyed; raging floods; preternatural tides, recurring and crossing, contrary to the order of the ocean's laws, but most fearfully so when the Full Moon shone on the night of Saint Martin; the sea-waves breaking over and devouring the land; the undermined cliffs crumbling away; the rivers running upwards and spreading over the shores; the springs again welling forth blood, staining the streams which received the defiled element.—Crowds repaired to witness this marvel, Rufus amongst the rest: his loud laughter scoffing the superstitions of the multitude.

Rufus scorned the people, they were dulled by misery: He, the more triumphant; his newly developed assumption of outward splendour, a propensity not unuseful in a monarch, if properly directed, encreased his harshness: it was his own pride he sought to gratify, and not to enhance the Commonwealth's dignity. His architectural undertakings were peculiarly unfortunate. Laudable in themselves, the objects warranted the expenditure.—The Tower of London was needed for the defence of the Realm: every Palace might be considered as a fortress, Westminster being a

Burgh like the ancient Louvre; and the traffic and convenience of London demanded the reparation of the Bridge of London. Therefore, considered singly, the proceedings adopted by Rufus received a full justification: and the lands of the Shires around the Metropolis were bound to contribute to the works, either by the Law of the Land or by reason of tenure. But the war-taxes which Rufus and Flambard imposed, exhausted the country, not a penny the less for all that had been taken from the Church; whilst at the same time the money thus wrung from the Church was abstracted from the poor. 1096—1101

The boon labours and services of the London Citizens and the inhabitants of Surrey, Kent, Essex, and the like, were exacted with the utmost rigour; the extreme inclemency of the seasons, and the rising of the waters, encreased the discomfort, the fatigue and the vexation.—But nothing did Rufus care: his mind expanded in an ideal and gigantic elevation. Never did he exhibit the pomp of royalty so ostentatiously as in the Year Eleven hundred: that Year, so gloomy to others, had by him been commenced with exceeding joy and rampant festivity. Rufus encreases in pride and ostentation.

For the first time since his accession, was Rufus enabled to wear his Crown thrice in one and the same year. The Christmas feast he held at Gloucester, the Mercian Capital. Many remembrances were attached to that residence: there Rufus wears his Crown thrice in the last year of his reign.

1096—1101 had he been oppressed by the warning malady which brought on the nomination of Anselm; and there in King Oswald's Abbey still presided the faithful Serlo, one of the few remaining links between Rufus and his father and his mother—the old friend of the Conqueror. There was also Fitz-Hamo, strenuous and strong: the great March Lord, whose encreasing prosperity had in no wise seduced him from his allegiance to the throne.

Easter he solemnized at Winchester, the ancient capital of Wessex: Whitsuntide in his new Palace at Westminster, in the magnificent Hall. Rufus might have been proud of his monument, and yet the building satisfied him not; for, as he paced the structure's length and breadth, he declared contemptuously that the space was scantly half large enough for his state and festivities.

Rufus encreases in morbid activity—Church-affairs.

§ 17. Since his return from Mayet, Rufus had continued incessantly active, stirring, allowing no rest to others, or to himself, superadding to needful duties and judicious employments, a teazing burthen of needless occupations, bodily and mental, doing much, projecting infinitely more. His great political scheme, of ruling with undivided supremacy by the suppression of the Church, had succeeded in a manner which seemed fully to reward his consistency. The first steps were completely gained, and the machinery he had em-

ployed was working steadily to the definite end. The moral authority of the Hierarchy was neutralized, their civil position weakened, their property in his power: the escheats continued to accumulate, and, in this last period, he ceased to fill up the vacant prelacies.—Good Osmund of Salisbury departed.—Walkeline of Winchester ended his weary life. He enjoyed at last the satisfaction of completing the sacred edifice, Saint Swithin's Cathedral with the lofty ponderous tower, the pious investment of his wealth, and was rejoicing in its magnificence. Here had the masons worked with encreasing speed and diligence, and now the Bishop's task was done. Just as Walkeline had chanted the Introit, on Christmas-day, a messenger came up to him from the Treasury, "My Lord Bishop, you must send two hundred pounds to the King without any delay."—The demand so startled Walkeline that he took to his bed, and died within ten days.—Anselm is far away, a dead man if he comes again within the reach of the Royal Sword.—Archbishop Thomas, who, in consequence of the exile of the Primate of Canterbury, enjoyed a species of uncomfortable and anxious supremacy, did not survive to the close of the year—and men reckoned that on the Feast-day of Saint Peter ad Vincula, in the Year Eleven hundred, Rufus had in his hands all the domains and goods of the Archbishoprick of Canterbury, the bishopricks

1096—1101

1099. Strange death of Bishop Walkeline.

Success of the plans pursued by Rufus against the Church.

1096—1101 of Winchester and Salisbury, together with Twelve or more of the richest abbeys in England.

William of Poitou proposes to cede his dominions to Rufus.

§ 18. His continental policy assumed a new direction. Notwithstanding the truce, his designs against France inspired both expectation and apprehension: and an opportunity offered for effecting an important dismemberment of the French Monarchy.

In their relations to the Crown, the provinces South of the Loire still retained more independence than Northern Gaul; and William Count of Poitou, the Troubadour, who had delayed his expedition to Palestine, now resolved upon the enterprize with enthusiastic ardour. Poetic fervour exalted the Count's imagination; but the realities of life interposed—money was wanting; and where should he apply for kelp in need, but to the most opulent monarch, the King of England? Count William despatched his Ambassadors to Rufus, proposing to surrender his dominions for a competent price. The mere offer created in Rufus the most intense desire to seize the bargain.—Count of Poitou!—the very notion excited in his mind a joyous fever. The cession would have extended his dominions from the Garonne to the Channel, from the Channel to the Tweed: more land, more coast, more resources, more influence, more varied and energetic races would have been ruled by Rufus than by any other Sovereign in Western Christendom.

Rufus never lost the gift of inspiring confidence. He continued to exercise the faculty of rendering his enthusiasm contagious. His actual achievements in no wise warranted the position he assumed: he had rather hung back from personal adventure; but he obtained and preserved the prestige of good fortune, not so much by any great success, as by the vanishing of his enemies. It seemed as if no weapon raised against him could prosper—no genius which did not succumb before his own. 1096—1101

The World accepted him at the value which he fixed upon himself, and the rate was rapidly rising in the year *Eleven Hundred.*

Ascending the loftiest rock which heads the furthest promontory of bleak Menevia, and beholding the distant hills of Ireland dimming the Western horizon,—"That country shall be mine," —he exclaimed,—"my ships shall bridge across that sea." The union of the British Islands under one sceptre, planned by the Conqueror, might have been accomplished by Rufus. In reverting to his Father's scheme, there was no departure from the recognized rules of ambitious wisdom; and that very incursion of Rufus prepared the way for the future fortunes of Strongbow, and the misery of the Milesian race. But inebriated by success, the unrestrained indulgence of bodily appetites failing to satisfy the cravings of a powerful intellect and vivid imagination, he en- Rufus projects the invasion of Ireland.

1096—1101 wrapped himself in hallucinations, reality and unreality confounded. He dreamt of making war against Rome, challenging as his right the ancient conquests of Brennus and Belinus. Strange that Rollo's descendants should thus assert the heirship of the Gaulish Kings! No traditions can be traced, no romances or fables are extant, which explain the pretension or render the project intelligible. Was he seeking to establish a universal Empire, or the dethronement of the Supreme Pontiff?—the union in his own person of the civil and supreme Hierarchical power?

Rufus enters a visionary scheme of conquering Rome.

Flattered, encouraged, supported by the many who shared his depravities and profited by his sins: witty, amusing; pleasant to the guest; profuse to the soldier; courteous to the minstrel; he sought to make his life a succession of wild delights. Poor and rich were equally excoriated by his rapacity, and new severities added to the merciless chapters of the Law. He luxuriated in giving offence; scoffing and gibing at all things holy, seeking to outrage the feelings most respected and honoured. He revelled in profligacy. Lust was not satisfactory to him, unless heightened in flavour by profaneness and impiety. When he laid him down to sleep at night, he was more wicked than he had been in the morning, and when he rose the following morning he was more wicked than when on the preceding night he had retired to rest. Contradiction was intolerable to

him. He could not bear to be reminded that anything he wished or planned was subject to a higher decree. He scorned the law of the Supreme, and prided himself on affronting and defying the Most High. 1096—1101

§ 19. Whatever chances Rufus or Beauclerc might have had of profiting by Robert's perils, opportunities, or seductions in the Crusade, came completely to an end in the Year Eleven hundred. Robert was alive, sound, healthy, hearty, unbetrayed by the friend, unhurt by the foe, no arrow had reached him, no sabre had grazed his skin.—Robert, alive, sound, healthy, hearty, his vows accomplished, life renewed before him with unwonted and encreased chance of prosperity: he had signalized himself by bravery; he had resisted temptation, and gained honour. The winding up of the first Crusade.

The Chieftains having assembled in the Holy Sepulchre to elect the King of Jerusalem, opinions were in Robert's favour. Valour, or piety, or lineage, might be considered as imparting contradictory or concurrent claims to the several competitors; but many maintained that Robert Courthose, whose Father had worn a crown, was upon that qualification best entitled to the Sovereignty.—Stories were in circulation, as if he had been almost miraculously designated to the dignity: a star had been seen gleaming on the point of Robert's lance; and this omen, as it was reported, had been more significantly re- Opinions in favour of Robert's elevation to the throne of Jerusalem.

1096—1101 peated. When each Chieftain knelt, holding the consecrated taper, a stream of fire (as they said), descending from Heaven, struck the one in Robert's hand. The choice fell on Godfrey; nevertheless, Robert's influence was undiminished, so that Arnolph Malacorona, his Chaplain, was nominated to the Patriarchate of the Holy City.

1099. Aug. 12. Robert's achievements in the Battle of Ascalon.

The election of the Sovereign was the signal for further warlike conflicts, wherein Robert greatly encreased his renown.—Jerusalem is not in peace: the Soldan of Egypt advanced; he who had been too slow to prevent, now became impatient to avenge, the loss of the Holy City. Hosts innumerable followed his Standard, the silver lance crowned with gold. Pre-eminent amongst the Miscreants appeared the fierce red-turbaned Ethiopians, swinging their iron flails, gigantic fiend-like forms, scaring by their very aspect, horrible, terrible. This great conflict took place at Ascalon. Robert, foremost in the fight, as the Normans reported, galloped up to the barbaric ensign, that tall spear pitched before the Soldan in the field. The Norman Duke, we are told, cut the infidel Sovereign down. In the press, the Standard became the spoil of a common soldier; but the glory belonged to Robert. His munificence redeemed the prize, and he deposited the trophy upon the Altar of the Holy Sepulchre.

Robert presents the Standard to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

This victory dispersed the Moslem forces, and completed the Conquest. Jerusalem was deli-

vered; the task performed; and the Crusaders, quitting the field covered with the spoils of the camp and the corpses of the dead, declare their final triumph consummated. They bathed in the Jordan, gathered their palms at Jericho, the memorials of their pilgrimage; and each pilgrim prepared to return to his own home. 1096—1101

The Crusaders declare the Crusade at an end.

And thus has the first chapter in a new book of human sorrow opened: thus has the first Crusade closed.—Urban may have just lived to hear how his enterprize had been accomplished. The turmoil was partially silenced, myriads of bodies and souls destroyed. The Antipope was still acknowledged, Schism still distracted the Western Church, but Urban enjoyed Rome, the Clementines expelled, for about four years, and then died, on the fifteenth day after the capture of Jerusalem. The acclamations of the Roman Church, the Roman Senate, and the Roman People, gave him as a successor the Pontiff Pascal II., Rainier of Viterbo.

1099. July 29. Urban's death and Pascal's election, Aug. 13.

We marshalled the Crusaders before us when the Host was first arrayed: we must now bestow a glance upon them in their dispersion. Many were domiciled in Palestine. Of smaller folk, it concerns us not to speak; we will only note the main Chieftains of the enterprize. Godfrey, Jerusalem's uncrowned King, established himself in his Palace, the Tower of David, a disturbed unhappy abode. Virulent discord between the

Crusaders settled in Palestine.

1096—1101 spiritual and temporal authorities ensued immediately after the Conquest, the Latin Patriarch claiming that the Sovereign should rule only as his feudatory; whilst the Conquerors, wretched and starving, quarrelled amongst themselves for the division of the spoil, each contending for domination and superiority.

Godfrey reigned but a short time amidst the desolation, the vice and the misery which the Crusaders brought upon Jerusalem and themselves. The Malaria fever of Rome never entirely departed from Godfrey, nor did the vow's fulfilment eradicate the seeds of the malady. Incaution or excess, anxiety and the general alteration in his habits of life, exasperated the fever into the disease of which he died, at the end of the year and the day reckoned from the blood-bath of the Holy City, to wit, on the seventeenth day of July, the Festival of Saint Marcellina, in the year Eleven hundred.

1100. July 17. Godfrey's death, after a short and troubled reign.

Baldwin of Boulogne also continued in the Colony: his exertions fully rewarded his risks; he succeeded excellently well as a speculator: he had gained Edessa, and ruled the splendid Principality. The ghost of murdered Theodore never disturbed Baldwin's slumbers; but he did not possess Edessa long; for upon the death of his brother Godfrey he was elected as his successor. Baldwin was a clever and unscrupulous Statesman, but often allowed his passions to counter-

Baldwin of Boulogne, Count of Edessa, succeeds upon Godfrey's death to the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

act the dictates of prudence. His wife, Godechilda de Toeny (the divorced of Mellent), died at Antioch. When King of Jerusalem, Baldwin supplied Godechilda's place, by espousing a second wife, the richly-portioned daughter of Taphnuz, an Armenian Prince. Her fortune was astounding, besides fortresses and castles, sixty thousand golden bezants constituted her dowry, which rejoiced the heart of the Crusader. Money had been his object, and the money he kept, getting rid, as speedily as possible, of the Oriental damsel, with her kohal-blackened eyes, and henna-stained fingers. Baldwin drove her into a monastery, where she was confined. Hence she escaped; the Latins say she disgraced herself afterwards by her dissolute conduct; not improbably so, but the temptation resulted from King Baldwin's base and unmanly cruelty. 1096—1101

Baldwin's second wife, an Armenian Princess, from whom he separates.

His third marriage, like the foregoing, was prompted by avarice and ambition. Without even pretending to sue for a divorce from his Armenian wife, the marriage continuing in full force and validity, the King of Jerusalem courted and won the Matron Adela, the daughter of Boniface, the proud and powerful Marquis of Montferrat, who had been repudiated by Roger of Sicily. She was the mother of Roger the Second. Adela's riches added to her attractions, but she shared the same fate as her predecessor. After treating her with much harshness,

Baldwin's third wife, Adela of Sicily.

1096—1101 Baldwin availed himself of his own wrong; the bigamy of which he was guilty gave him a pretence for casting off the wife whom he had entrapped: he caused himself to be divorced from her, and Adela returned to Sicily, where she died.

Baldwin of Rethel also King of Jerusalem.

Baldwin of Rethel took firm root in Palestine. When Baldwin of Boulogne obtained the kingdom, the other minor Baldwin was promoted to the county of Edessa, and became King of Jerusalem in his turn.

Bohemond in Antioch.

Bohemond exulted in Antioch,—Antioch won by double treachery: not a contemptible prize, yet poor and small, if compared with his vast aspirations. He retained, however, all his vigour and activity, making conquests of no great significance, and sustaining various romantic vicissitudes. He tried again for the Greek Empire, but entirely failed in his project, bearing himself, nevertheless, as proudly as Alexander the Great. His noble figure, talent, pretence, and confidence, made him keep his rank as a hero even to the last.

Tancred and Raimbald of Orange.

Tancred settled in the city of Caiaphas, somewhat obscurely.—Raimbald of Orange continued in the Holy Land, but we cannot discern his dotation.

Raimond de St. Gilles, Count of Tripoli.

Raimond de St. Gilles, the meekest, and most consistent of the Crusaders, had better fortune: he conquered Tripoli.

Amongst the Palmers who returned to Europe, some looked downwards: others, more cleverly, brazened themselves against their shame. Fine names were included in the category of skulkers and *Funambulists*,—Hugh of Vermandois;—William de Grantmesnil, Bohemond's brother-in-law, Alberic, and the Leicestershire Ivo;—Guy Trossel;—William, Viscount of Melun, the doughty Hammer-man;—the wretched Peter the Hermit; but, worst of all, Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres. To Adela, the disgrace of his cowardice was intolerable. No longer a *Douce-amie*, she thundered her vituperations against her husband; and, ultimately yielding to her clamour and the universal feeling of disrepute, he returned again to Palestine with the fruitless expectation of regaining his character. Being captured by the Turks, after the great defeat at Ramla, they set him up as a mark, and shot him to death.

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Crusaders who lost their credit by cowardice.

Stephen of Blois driven back by his wife Adela, and killed at Paulo.

Robert of Flanders afforded an honourable contrast to the faint-hearted Stephen. He came back splendidly; and henceforward appears in the annals of the Flemish dynasty, distinguished as the *Hierosolymitan*, an epithet he deservedly earned. The very Turks rendered their tribute of admiration, by entitling him the Son of Saint George.

Honours gained by Robert of Flanders.

Now for our Robert—still the fresh-coloured, merry, jolly Courthose, though his form is becoming more portly, and his locks grizzling grey—

1096—1101 Robert Courthose returning through Apulia, marries Sibylla of Conversano.

He accompanied his namesake of Flanders as far as Constantinople, and then crossed over to Apulia, to Conversano, to Sibylla.—Kind old Ordericus, who, always sympathising with affections, likes to relate a love story, hints at a previous attachment. Be that as it may, Robert now obtained her hand.

Count Geoffrey rejoiced to bestow his daughter upon the descendant of Rollo, whom the Italian Normans honoured almost as their Sovereign: and, with Sibylla he gave a very large dowry, for the express purpose of enabling his Son-in-law to redeem the Duchy from his Brother.

Robert comported himself prudently and soberly; his character appeared settled and corrected. He considered further the means of re-establishing himself: his friends contributed largely, and in the spring of the year Eleven Hundred, Robert had commenced his pleasant journey, escorting his Bride from the bright shores of the Mediterranean, the orange-groves and the olive-forests, to the orchards and meadows, of fertile Normandy, Sibylla's ancestral home.

Rufus alarmed by the accounts of Robert's progress.

§ 20. News from Apulia succeeded to the news from Palestine. Vague Reports became condensed into certainties. The intelligence of Robert's steady and prosperous progress excited great alarm in Rufus: he fancied the Duchy slipping away.

Robert had earned an entirely new reputation. 1096—1101
The thoughtless spendthrift was transiently disciplined into prudence: the dissolute idler reformed into a happy and affectionate husband.

Rufus the more anxious in consequence of Robert's encreased pecuniary means.

No calculator, political, financial, or commercial, could possibly understand the value of money better than Rufus—how far a pound of silver would go—what a pound of silver would do.—Robert, hitherto bare and penniless, was now abounding with wealth. Sibylla's fortune completely altered Robert's position; and still more annoying to Rufus, was the ample pecuniary aid afforded by Robert's friends. Those who voluntarily became Robert's creditors, pledged themselves by that very act to stand by him: unless they helped him, their advances would be lost. But Rufus, forewarned and fore-armed, anticipated the visitation: he had begun making preparations for resistance; and these he now pursued with encreasing vigilance. It was for the purpose of better defending Normandy, that Rufus had so gladly accepted William of Poitou's proposition concerning the cession of a territory, which, could he obtain it, would cover Normandy and Maine, and so perhaps prevent Robert's return.

1100. The Spring season, Robert approaches Normandy.

Winter wanes away—days lengthen—Lent has worn through—Halleluia is sung again.—The Pascal altar has been decked with vernal flowers,—the Easter week is quite over—the snow-

1096—1101 drifts melt in the mountain-passes—more news, more unwelcome news for Rufus and for Henry: their Brother and his Bride have fairly crossed the Alps, and will be seen in Normandy ere Summer begins.—Rufus exerted all his energies, calling forth the means of opulent England: troops equipped, hammer and axe resounding in the Dock-yards, fleets preparing to transport the armies which are to occupy the Duchy, opposing the invasion of the legitimate Sovereign.

Anxiety of Rufus encreases as the Spring season advances.

Taking into consideration the relative situation of the parties, it should have seemed that Rufus was over anxious—that he might have relied calmly and resolutely on his own strength. Had not all the Norman Baronage accepted him? —Belesme was obedient, Mellent and Mellent's family supporting him by all their influence, Henry Beauclerc prosperous, and equally interested with himself in resisting their Brother. Very few in Normandy were likely to entertain any real or sympathetic affection towards Courthose, except Helias de St. Sidoine, the excellent husband of Robert's daughter, and Richard, Robert's son, courageous, but unassisted, and unconnected with any party. Above all, Rufus possessed a moral power in Normandy, denied to him in England. The country had gained by passing under his authority: he rescued Normandy from misrule and disorder: the Duchy was tranquil and contented. Nevertheless, with

these good reasons for confidence, Rufus could not rest. 1096—1101

§ 21. Matters were in this state of anxiety and excitement, when the month of May was saddened by a most unexpected event, creating universal grief and astonishment. The young Richard, son of Courthose, had crossed over into England:—he must have been invited by the King, and well received,—for, during the Rogation-tide, the season of humiliation and contrition, he took to hunting in that most special haunt of Rufus, the Royal Forest, the Jetten-Wald. The love of the chase was so inherent in the Anglo-Norman line as to overrule in them all other feelings; yet it might have been thought that Richard, the son of Robert Courthose, would have avoided the spot where his namesake and near relation, Richard the son of William the Conqueror, encountered his mysterious destiny. 1100. May 7—9. Richard, the son of Courthose, shot in the New Forest, during the Rogation Days.

Richard joined a tumultuous party of Hunters, the retainers, the men of his Uncle Rufus, galloping to and fro, and coursing here and there, the deer dropping beneath their shafts; but one heavy bolt from the Norman Arbalest turned away from the deer, and hit the bosom of Richard. So murderously point-blank did the fatal arrow wing its flight, that he fell instantly dead: the Knight who perpetrated the deed, whether by mischance or otherwise, fled to the Priory of

1096—1101 St. Pancras at Lewes, where immediately arraying himself in the dress of a Monk, he withdrew from the world, from enquiry, from justice, or from vengeance.

1100. July. Robert and Sibylla on the point of entering Normandy.

§ 22. Silence the wailing for young Richard; —many will remember him: innocent of his kindred's crimes, he also bears their punishment.— Robert is drawing nigh to assert his own rights, the helmet entwined with the bridal garland. Robert and Sibylla are travelling leisurely onwards, joyfully, merrily, to the Norman boundaries. Hot July is come: the Sun rules in Leo; and they are now wending their way to the North, along the Rhone, as we guess, or through Central France.

But if Robert was joyful, the Normans abided meanwhile in anxious expectation, whilst the greatest activity prevailed in England:—Rufus superintending the outfits of his fleet and army; the mariners busy in the ports; the "Landfyrd," the Militia, mustering from the several Shires: the collectors levying the Geld, and the money circulating freely: the treasure paid out of the Hoard as soon as it came in.

Omens and prognostications of the death of Rufus.

Undaunted, Rufus enjoyed the approaching conflict—but the Land teemed with anticipations of evil menacing the King. Omens doomed him. Whenever people assembled, whether they gathered in the Church-porch, or lingered in the Church-yard, or met in the Market-place, the

Tyrant's speedy death was the matter about which every one talked. 1096—1101

The rumours encreased the contagious excitement. The feeling worked upon men's minds incessantly: they could not drive away the haunting presentiments of impending judgment. To a Monk at Gloucester, there appeared a dread and solemn phantasm, pictured from the prevailing symbolism, such as might be seen figured in a deep and gloomy crypt, the stern mosaics gleaming in the concave apse, and rising above the heaps of skulls and bones filling the charnel caverns: the vision indicated that the King would meet with immediate death—a shaft directed by unerring vengeance, such as had befallen Julian the Apostate, the punishment of his iniquities. The impression was so marked and singular, that old Serlo, the Abbot, immediately determined to communicate all the circumstances to Rufus: whether believing the portent, or deeming that he was bound to seize a good and favourable opportunity of addressing a word of advice to the King, remonstrating against his intolerable and disgusting licentiousness and debauchery.

Dream of the Monk at Gloucester.

Whatever dread Rufus inspired, it now became impossible to silence the voices of grief, remonstrance, and supplication. On the First day of August, St. Peter ad Vincula, the Gule of August, Fulchard Abbot of Shrewsbury, being at Gloucester, was invited to preach on the festival of

1100. August 1. Abbot of Shrewsbury preaches at Gloucester, anticipating the deliverance of England.

1096—1101 the Convent's Patron-Saint. Bitterly did the Preacher deplore the miseries, temporal and spiritual, of England, and yet with hope that in some way there would be a deliverance from the pressing calamities.

1100. Aug. 1. The hunting party assembled in the Forest on Lammas-Day.

§ 23. While such were the popular sentiments, Rufus,—to whom they were thoroughly known,—acted as if he were intoxicated with joy and prosperity, most busily making ready for war against his brother, overflowing with life and vigour, he pursued his pleasures with equal pertinacity; and whilst the Vessels were fitting out on the coast, he enjoyed himself in the cool shades of the Jetten-Wald. The blood of his gallant nephew Richard was still fresh on the ground. The earth had not covered that blood,—what did Rufus care?

On the First day of August, the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, the Gule of August, Lammas-Day, when Fulchard was preaching at Gloucester, and England pervaded with expectant terror, Rufus assembled a large and jovial party in the leafy lodge of the Lindwood, the Dragon's-Wood, the most pleasant of his bowers.—His brother Henry, William de Breteuil, Gilbert de Aquila, Gilbert Fitz-Richard, Robert Fitz-Hamo, Ralph de Aix, or de Aquis, and Walter Tyrrell: together with a vast meisney of the Court-followers, Prickers, Verdurers, Ribalds.—Rufus never moved unless encircled by the vilest ruffianage.

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The flouting between Rufus and Walter Tyrrell.

Rufus was exuberant in his conversation, boisterous: he addressed his conversation to Tyrrell in particular, roughly, and merrily—insult mingled with whim and familiarity. The Chastellain of Poix was excited up to the same tone, and flouted Rufus in return. He joked to teaze the King, mocked him, telling him that whilst all was open and the way clear, Breton and Angevine at his commands, he did nothing, in spite of all his great words and talk. Rufus beame more coarse and rude, and, unmindful of any national pride which Tyrrell might feel, boasted how he would lead his army beyond the Alps, and hold his Court at Poitiers next Christmas. Tyrrell laughed at such a vaunt. "To the Alps, and back again within so short a time? —but if ever they submit to the English," continued Tyrrell, "an evil death may Frenchman and Burgundian die!" The dialogue began in jest, but ended in anger. The ranting words thus passing were marked, repeated, perhaps exaggerated.—It should seem that few, if any of the party, could be said to have been in a state of sobriety.

Rufus awakened by a horrid dream.

Night closed in, the darkness brought a sudden sadness upon the King's heart: when alone, how troubled, how unhappy was Rufus. In the still of the night, the last night-season in which he laid himself down to sleep, but not in peace, the attendants were startled by the King's voice;

1096—1101 —a bitter cry—a cry for help—a cry for deliverance—he had been suddenly awakened by a dreadful dream, as of exquisite anguish befalling him in that ruined Church, at the foot of the Malwood rampart.—No more would he be left alone: the extinguished lamps were lighted in the chamber, where Rufus impatiently awaited the early morn.

1100 August 2. The last day of Rufus. Another warning dream repeated to Rufus by Fitz-Hamo.

§ 24. Dawn broke on Thursday the second of August, the morrow of St. Peter ad Vincula: Robert Fitz-Hamo entered, hastily, anxious, bearing tidings of another warning given through the dream of a holy Monk beyond the sea, speaking clearly of great and threatening danger: he therefore earnestly supplicated the King not to hunt for that one day. Rufus burst out into a horse-laugh—"He is a Monk; monks dream for money: money let him have—an hundred shillings, his fitting guerdon." Rufus shewed no signs of fear, yet a secret misgiving, unconfessed even to himself, weighed upon his soul. Many of the party agreed with Fitz-Hamo, and thought caution might be advisable. Rufus lingered and paused. It was their custom to hunt in the morning-tide, but Rufus postponed the sport till the afternoon, and the mid-day banquet was served before him.

The last debauch of Rufus.

He indulged even more than usual in food and wine: the debauch was prolonged till the decline of day, when Rufus rose, reeking from the table, and, surrounded by his joyous companions, pre-

pared to start. An Armourer presented the King with six newly-headed shafts for the deadly arbalest. Rufus took them, tried them, and selecting the two keenest, gave them (as the confused report afterwards prevailed) to Tyrrell, telling the Chastellain of Poix, (according to one of the versions which became current) that it was he who deserved the arrow—let that bowman bear the prize who can best deal the mortal wound: and others also recounted that he afterwards cried out to Tyrrell, *Shoot, Devil;* or, *Shoot in the Devil's name.* 1096—1101

Still more delay. Rufus continued in vehement and idle talk: the evening was coming on, when Serlo's messenger appeared. More cause of laughter for Rufus, mixed with a nettled feeling of impatient anger:—"It is strange," said he,—"that my Lord Serlo, the wise and discreet, "should teaze me, tired and harassed as I am "with business, by transmitting to me such stories "and silly dreams. Does he think I am an "Englishman, who will put off a journey for an "old wife's fancy, a token or a sign?"—He rose hastily: the saddled steed was brought. Rufus, placing his foot in the great stirrup, vaulted on his courser: the Hunters now dispersed, Henry in one direction, William de Breteuil in another, Rufus in a third, dashing on towards the depths of the Forest, through the chequered gleams of transparent green, the lengthened lines of cheer- Rufus receives the warning of Serlo, and distrusts it.

1096—1101 ful shade, the huge stems shining in the golden light of the setting sun.

Rufus found dying by Fitz-Hamo and Gilbert de Aquila.

§ 25. No man ever owned that he had spoken afterwards to Rufus—no man owned to having again heard the voice of Rufus, except in the inarticulate agonies of death. Separated unaccountably from his suite and companions, Robert Fitz-Hamo and Gilbert de Aquila found him expiring—stretched on the ground, within the walls of the ruined Church, just below the Malwood Castle, transpierced by the shaft of a Norman arbalest, the blood gurgling in his throat.

It is said they tried to pray with him, but in vain. Forthwith ensued a general dispersion—Hunters and Huntsmen, Earl and Churl, scattering in every direction. It seemed as if the intelligence sounded out of the ground throughout the Forest. At the same time a consentaneous outcry arose: no one can tell how it began, that Walter Tyrrell had slain the King.

Tyrrell pursued as the murderer.

All the ruffian soldiery, the ribalds, the villainous and polluted Court-retainers, who surrounded Rufus, vowing vengeance against the Traitor, began a hot pursuit; but while they were chafing and scurrying after Tyrrell, many would have protected him; either believing in his innocence, or rejoicing in the deed. Tyrrell fled as for his life, and crossing the river, at the ford which bears his name, he baffled his pursuers. A yearly rent, payable into the Exchequer by the Lord

of the Manor through which the water flows, is traditionally supposed to have been the fine imposed for the negligence in permitting the escape of the accused Murderer. Be this as it may, Tyrrell received no further impediment, and passing over to France, he settled in his Seigneury of Poix, where he lived long, honoured and respected; but though holding (as it is supposed) lands in Essex, and connected by marriage with the Giffords, he never returned again to England. Suger, the Abbot of St. Denis, the Historian of France, the Prime Minister of Louis le Gros, was intimately acquainted with him: often and often did Tyrrell declare in Suger's presence, when there was no more room either for hope or fear, and, as he looked for salvation, that on the day of the King's death, he never approached the part of the Forest in which Rufus hunted, or had seen him after he entered therein. 1096—1101

Tyrrell's denial of the deed.

§ 26. Henry Beauclerc, distant far away from where Rufus was dying, reached Winchester with astonishing expedition, either on the Thursday night or the Friday morning. William de Breteuil, however, had anticipated him; and from them the inhabitants of the ancient Capital of Wessex first learned that they were delivered from the dominion of the tyrant King. Beauclerc and Breteuil, adverse to each other, had each the same immediate object: each sought to win the Kingdom's heart, the Treasury. Even

Henry Beauclerc claims the Crown, but is opposed by Breteuil.

1096—1101 as Rufus had determined the succession in his own favour, by appropriating the source of political vitality, so did the two contending parties—Robert Courthose Duke of Normandy, represented by Breteuil; and the Porphyrogenitus, Beauclerc,—equally feel that their chances mainly turned upon the possession of the Hoard at Winchester: for the contest began from the moment when Rufus died. Many of the Baronage had already assembled; even Clerks of the Chancery were there, William Gifford the Chancellor—how convened so speedily, is untold. And in this most perplexing passage of English history, we dare not supply the absence of direct information by conjecture.

1100. Aug. 3. Henry gains the Treasury at Winchester, and is acknowledged by the Baronage and people.

Henry instantly demanded the Treasury Keys as the lawful heir of the Kingdom, to whom the Crown appertained by right. William de Breteuil as resolutely contradicted these pretensions, and denied Henry's right and title.—The treaty of Rouen was conclusive;—We are all bound, said he, addressing the multitude, by the promise which we have given to Robert, King William's first-born. We are all his homagers: you, my Lord Henry, are his homager. You, my Lord Henry, owe him allegiance. We all owe him allegiance: and his absence renders the duty of fidelity but more stringent. He is away, a pilgrim of the Cross; and thus absent, the Crown has devolved on him by the act of Providence.

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Very near was Courthose, though absent: close on the borders of Normandy; but he was absent, and that circumstance made the whole difference. Had the death of Rufus happened a month, perhaps a week, later, Henry would have had to measure his strength against Robert, re-established in the Duchy, powerful, wealthy, respected, full of glory. The one week or the one month sooner, which enabled the Porphyrogenitus to prevent his brother, decided the succession. Whoever had snapped the fatal Arbalest, the shot was the best possible shot for Henry Beauclerc, the right thing at the right time.

Rufus killed at the opportune moment for Henry's accession.

Henry was immediately supported by the people—Englishmen, the men of Winchester. Henry, drawing his sword, spake not as an aspirant to the Throne, but as a Sovereign, and appealed to the multitude. A great strife appeared imminent, but the influence of the proud and energetic claimant whom they saw before them, prevailed. The Baronage acknowledged Henry, not so much from affection, as out of dread of the consequences of national disunion. Castle and Treasure,—so honoured by the Cymric prophecies as the deposit of Arthur's round Table and Walwain's Sword, surrendered to Henry; and before Rufus had been cast into his unhonoured grave, the English people at Winchester had recognized King Henry, Henry the Porphyrogenitus, the Son of William the anointed King

Henry recognized as King by the Norman Baronage and the English people at Winchester.

1096—1101 and Matilda the anointed Queen, born in England, bred in England, speaking the English language as his native tongue.

Corpse of Rufus brought to Winchester.

In the course of that same day, Friday, the third of August, the Feast of the Invention of Saint Stephen, towards evening, a country cart, followed by a few churls, and dragged by one sorry horse, drove into the Close of Saint Swithin's Minster at Winchester: the vehicle contained the defiled corpse of ghastly Rufus, bloody, the sanies exuding, covered with filth and mire; hideous, as the carcase of a wild boar. Gilbert de Aquila, Robert Fitz-Hamo, all had abandoned the dead man:—and there the corpse was left lying, exposed like worthless carrion; saved from crow and dog and vermin only by the piety of a neighbouring Charcoal-burner, Purkis, who took compassion on the body, and conveyed the remains from the solitude where the mortal wound was received.

Rufus interred, but without Christian burial, in Winchester Cathedral.

Great was the doubt whether Rufus could be buried in consecrated ground. No formal sentence of excommunication had been pronounced against him, but his wickedness was so notorious, his vices so detestable, that by universal consent Rufus was felt and acknowledged to be unworthy of Christian sepulture. Respect for royal authority so far prevailed, that a grave was dug for him in the Cathedral Choir, and his bones are deposited in the same sacred structure with those of

Ina and the old West-Saxon Kings; but no obse- 1096—1101
quies were celebrated, no bells tolled, no alms given, no prayers offered for the repose of his Soul:—all men thought that prayers were hopeless. No emblem of Faith, no Symbol of holiness, no Cross, no Monogram, no Scripture-text, no Verse, no Versicle, no Ejaculation; not even a name, or the initial of a name, is engraved upon that silent tomb, beneath which he lies. We are not told that Purkis received any reward or thanks for his care. His family still subsists in the neighbourhood, nor have they risen above their original station, poor craftsmen or cottagers. They followed the calling of coal-burners until a recent period; and they tell us that the wheel of the Cart which conveyed the neglected corpse was shewn by them until the last century.

§ 27. The tumultuous proclamation at Win- The settlement of Henry's accession.
chester being made, Henry immediately comported himself as the King. He shewed himself such in right earnest, by forthwith exercising one very important prerogative claimed by Royalty, the prerogative, according to the views of the times, most inherent in the Sovereign's person, the disposition of ecclesiastical patronage.—William Bishoprick of Winchester given to William Gifford.
Gifford, the Chancellor, was called up, and received from Henry the See of Winchester, just vacant by the death of Walkeline. Henry neither waited for Papal Bull nor consulted Prior and Chapter. This indeed was acting like the Con-

1096—1101 queror's Son, and taking seizin of the Kingdom. Good encouragement also to the learned Clerks, who would argue in favour of the Porphyrogenitus.—Archbishop Thomas was very poorly, and could not live much longer.

However bold and politic the conduct of Henry may have been, still he had not advanced beyond the first step of the Revolution. The foregoing events ensued on the Friday, the day of his Brother's interment: and either in the course of the Friday night, or early on the Saturday morning, Henry, accompanied by Robert de Mellent, the latter urging him, no doubt, to instant exertion, rode to London.

August 5. Henry, having proceeded to London, is presented to the people in Westminster Abbey.

On the Sunday, the Fifth of August, the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, the Feast of St. Oswald, we find Henry in Westminster Abbey, where Clergy, Baronage, many Sheriffs, and other Functionaries of the Realm had assembled; he appeared before the Altar, and, by Maurice, Bishop of London, was presented to the people, who had called him to the Throne. This great transaction was grounded upon the assumption that Henry should reform the abuses which had prevailed during the two preceding reigns. The Conqueror's engagements had been imperfectly fulfilled. Rufus, passing all bounds, oppressed Church and State by the most grievous tyranny. Henry declared that he owed his Crown to the choice of the people. We employ his own

Henry's title grounded upon the popular choice.

words.—"*Ego nutu Dei a Clero et a Populo Angliæ electus.*"—And he, Norman by blood and English by birthplace, was to be the deliverer of the Community. 1096—1101 His promises to the people.

A period of eleven days elapsed before Henry was finally confirmed in the royal authority, in such manner as the novelty of the case and the exigency of the times required. The outline, so to speak, of the national compact was but sketched, and then the details had to be filled in. He began by giving four promises and one refusal.—He would restore the Church to her liberty, that is to say liberty in his sense: abstaining from simoniacal bargains, and the sale or farming of Churchlands.—All bad customs and unjust exactions should cease and be abolished.—Peace be established, and firmly kept in the kingdom,—The Confessor's Law with the Conqueror's amendments, restored;—but all the Conqueror's Forests must continue in King Henry's hands.—These declarations could not be received as satisfactory, neither the proffers nor the reservation. None entirely trusted the King; and the disputes which had taken place at Winchester were in danger of being renewed. Promises made by Henry to the people at Westminster.

Henry was fully conscious of the disadvantages attending his position, and therefore the better enabled to fence against them. Could a poll have been taken, the majority of the Norman interest would have supported Robert Courthose. The

1096—1101 inconveniences of divided allegiance operated forcibly against Beauclerc at this juncture. If oaths possessed any validity, treaties any stringency, Robert unquestionably was the lawful King; and far more in his favour than oaths and treaties, recommended by the expectation that he would probably be the more easy and governable Master.

But the influence of Beauclerc, in possession of the Royal authority, the King *de facto*, silenced his gainsayers. The Clergy obeyed with entire willingness and submission. Thomas of York was rapidly sinking; and so many Sees and Abbeys vacant, that the Prelates and Abbots present were reduced to two thirds of their proper number. Moreover, Henry had shewn, by Gifford's nomination, that he was determined to be the great dispenser of patronage; and we may here observe, by anticipation, that the Chancery department continued to furnish the most successful candidates for the best preferments the Crown could bestow. When Archbishop Thomas died, within a few months after Henry's accession, to wit, in December, Master Gerard, so useful to Rufus when dealing with Anselm, ascended by the new Monarch's nomination to the Primatial Throne of York. Master William Warlewast, who searched Anselm's baggage on the sea-shore of Dover, following in the wake of his fellow official, obtained as a due guerdon,

Influence of Henry upon the Clergy by his promotions, by which they were gained over to his party.

the See of Exeter. Whether any promises were made by or on the part of Henry to Master Gerard or Master Warlewast during the discussions, cannot be affirmed, but there might be an instinctive anticipation, that the wise and learned Clerks who aided the Porphyrogenitus in acquiring or defending the rights due to him by the ancient usages of the Realm, would not be the worse for their zeal and strenuousness. 1096—1101

The members of the Norman Baronage, distinguishable as Beauclerc's partizans, during the accession crisis, when his fortunes still seemed ambiguous,—whether all truly stanch or not, time will disclose,—were not numerous, though influential. Old Simon de Saint Liz, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, Waltheof's son-in-law, lame, decrepit, yet still active;—Roger Bigod, Lord of Norwich Castle on the East;—Hugh d'Avranches, Earl of Chester on the West;—Richard de Redvers on the South, in possession of Exeter and of the great Earldom of Devon, though perhaps not yet formally invested with the dignity — Redvers, whose Castle of Rougemont rivalled Bigod's Blanchefleur;—Robert de Montfort, the son of Hugh with the Beard, Robert Mallet the High Chamberlain and Eudo Dapifer; Mellent, the Prud'homme, and his brothers; above all, the stately Fitz-Hamo, the Conqueror of Glamorgan, his grudges against Beauclerc forgotten, the most powerful noble in

Principal adherents of Beauclerc amongst the Baronage.

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the land, the highest next the King. But on the other hand there were many reluctant or tardy, such as the mighty Belesme; and others made excuses or kept aloof altogether. It should seem that the first impression upon the Great Council—(we use this expression, though somewhat inaccurate, for the sake of brevity)—was, that the promises were vague in consequence of their amplitude. Henry had undertaken that all "bad customs" and "unjust exactions" should cease and be abolished. But, unless specified, the question whether any given custom was "bad" or "unjust," would remain within the judgment of the King; and he was required, as we infer from the speech he made not long afterwards, to give more specific answers to their complaints and demands.

More definite concessions expected.

A custom prevailed somewhile in the Germanic Empire, that upon the inauguration of a new Emperor, he should redress and amend abuses, or make concessions to the States composing the Empire, a proceeding termed the *Wahl-Capitulation*. The Electors were willing to admit, yet they kept their hands upon the hasp, and held the door partly to, until the full price of admission was paid. The accession of Henry was, confessedly, an election. All felt that the opportunity was not to be lost; and the complaints and desires of the Clergy, Baronage, and Lieges, the French and the English, are read in the Statutory Charter which resulted from their demands.—The Charter

The Charter.

evidently must be construed as containing the King's answers to the demands of his Lieges, whether propounded in the Abbey of Westminster, or exacted by the overwhelming voice of the Realm. As written out in the King's Chapel by the acute and confidential Clerks of the Chancery, the Chapter relating to the Church appears in the following form—*Sanctam Dei Ecclesiam liberam facio;—ita quod nec vendam, nec ad firmam ponam, nec mortuo Archiepiscopo, sive Episcopo, sive Abbate, aliquid accipiam de dominio Ecclesiæ vel hominibus ejus donec successor in eam ingrediatur.*—The first member of the grant—*Sanctam Dei Ecclesiam liberam facio*—is significantly restrained by its subsequent explanation; and the whole bespeaks the submissive moderation of the Clergy, the politic prescience of the Cabinet, and the firm determination of Beauclerc not to recede from any of the *Consuetudines*, according to which his Father had ruled. 1096—1101

The Laity were bolder than the Clergy, and therefore far more successful. The Barons, the immediate Tenants of the Crown, reclaimed a fuller recognition of the right of inheritance than had been allowed to them in the preceding reign. We have noticed, in the case of Belesme, the species of haggling which took place, before Rufus would admit an heir to the tenancy of his kinsman or ancestor. The Courtiers who secretly reserved their consciences for Robert, and the

1096—1101

sincere who really befriended Henry, had, in this question, a common interest—it concerned them all. If the practice of requiring a special contract or bargain upon the ancestor's demise had not been resisted, the right of renewal would have been wholly lost. It was therefore needful that the King should renounce the extortions practised by Rufus, who compelled the Baronage to redeem their lands at his pleasure; and to stipulate that they should render no more than the just relief.—*Four Horses, two saddled and two bridled, two hawberks and two helms,* and so on:—the Heriot, in fact, of later times; and all bonds or covenants which had been given by any tenant for the redemption of his inheritance, were released and annulled.

Concessions made to the Baronage and people confirmed by Charter.

Arbitrary reliefs not to be exacted.

Rufus had interfered, beyond what the prerogative of the Sovereign allowed, in the disposal of the daughters and other female kindred of his Baronage, exercising an abusive wardship whilst the natural parent yet lived, exacting fines before he would grant his marriage license; also prohibiting such licences arbitrarily, and without reason. Henry consented to restrict his right of refusal to those cases in which the proposed Bridegroom was an open and declared enemy, and utterly renounced all fines for the permission; other regulations were added, particularly that widows should not be compelled to marry entirely against their inclinations.

Abuses of wardship and marriage rectified.

The rights which Rufus had usurped upon the Baronage, had been, in like manner, usurped by the Barons upon their inferior Tenants. If the proposed limitations of Royal despotism had not extended beyond the Baronage, the liberties granted to the Aristocracy would have become the slavery of the immediate occupants of the soil; but the latter were very influential at this juncture, and the consequence was, that the concessions made to the Barons were extended to the inferior tenancy, who received the same boon. 1096—1101 Clauses in favour of the inferior Tenantry.

With respect to Taxes, not much was said, possibly because the Baronage considered that they would have the power of refusal. No *geld* was to be exacted from the demesne-lands of Tenants holding by military service: they were exempted in order that they might the better be ready for the defence of the realm.—The imposition of moneyage, unknown in the days of the Confessor, and which the King could levy through his own officers, was to be entirely prohibited.—Amongst some provisions relating to the administration of justice, the arbitrary and ruinous amerciaments inflicted by the Crown, amounting to a complete forfeiture of goods and chattels, were to be wholly abandoned. The *contentment* of the delinquent was to be saved.—A general release was granted for all debts to the Crown and all murder fines; and the whole Law of the Confessor, the whole Constitution, as it sub- The Confessors' Law restored.

1096—1101 sisted under the last of the Anglo-Saxon Sovereigns, was restored (with the Conqueror's emendations) to the people of England.

1100. August 15. Henry crowned at Westminster.

These terms were accepted; the concessions, though clogged by one grievous reservation, were most beneficial; and, upon the feast of the Assumption, Henry, elected by the Clergy and people, was, by the advice and assent of the Baronage, solemnly consecrated and crowned, according to the ancient ceremonial of the Anglo-Saxon Kings: Maurice Bishop of London officiated: the ritual was observed in all its points, and the oath which Saint Dunstan had penned as the security of the nation's rights, sworn upon the Gospel-book by the accepted Sovereign. All the Baronage of the land who were present took the oath of Fealty, and became the King's men. And lastly, the Great Charter was engrossed and sealed; and, for ultimate deposit in the Treasuries of the Abbeys and Cathedrals, scores of copies, or rather originals, were made—a busy time for the Chancery Clerks—of this title-deed of the people's liberties.

Fealty and Homage of the Baronage.—Sealing of the Great Charter.

Assent of the people to Henry's accession, how given?

But now the question will be asked; In what manner were the people consulted, or did they really assent, to the accession of the Sovereign? The mystery of popular suffrage always haunts us: no Lawyer, no Antiquary can be contented unless he proves or disproves the existence of the principle,—now the organic principle, and distin-

guishing characteristic of our Legislature.—Perhaps we all lay too much stress upon this point. That the English people concurred in raising Henry to the Throne is certain; and their virtual representation, whether by the crowds assembled on the Castle Hill at Winchester, or in the precincts of the Abbey, was the fact upon which the whole of his reign afforded a perpetual commentary. Yet, as we have observed before, in relation to this same subject, the difficulties are substantially answered by what may be termed a political or constitutional synecdoche, the part taken for the whole. The chances which bring a multitude together may, under certain circumstances, afford as good a medium of expressing a true and sound national opinion as the most formal delegation. It used to be the custom in some of the ancient Suabian cities to decide disputes by a *Gassen-Gericht.* Plaintiff and Defendant came out, stood at the corner of the street, and, stopping the first seven passers-by, submitted to this fortuitous tribunal. 1096—1101

The Charter proclaimed to the people in the County Courts.

But if the English people had not been present by their representatives when Henry was accepted, they certainly enjoyed that privilege when the compact was confirmed. Each and every Sheriff rode to his Shire, bearing with him the Charter, sealed with the King's Great Seal, addressed to all his Lieges, as one community—*Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum omnibus Baronibus et*

1096—1101 Representation of the people in the County Court.

Fidelibus suis, Francis et Anglis salutem; and the Shire-moot was summoned as of yore—the Bishop, and the Hundredors, and the Aldermen, and the Vavassours, and the Franklins, and the Barons, and the Baron's Stewards, and the Priest of each Parish, and the Reeve of each Township, and Four of the better men of each Township, on behalf of all who could not attend; and before them was the Charter expounded and proclaimed.

Thus was the grant accepted by the people, entrusted to their testimony and incorporated in their traditions, so that though many of the provisions were violated, and some neglected, the essential import of the Charter was never forgotten, never obscured.

In the Epistle by which Henry Beauclerc notifies his accession to Anselm, he appeals to the popular choice as the source of his Royal authority—*Ego nutu Dei, a Clero et a Populo Angliæ electus.*—From that Epistle did Archbishop Hubert learn the lesson, that, in order to restraining the anticipated misrule of John, the same doctrine was to be promulgated when he ascended the English throne; and Archbishop Langton perfected the lesson. When the Clergy and Baronage assembled in St. Paul's, that misrule having become intolerable, then did the Cardinal Archbishop bring forth from the Treasury of his Cathedral the Charter which Beauclerc had sealed, giving them the means of asserting

Henry's Charter produced to the Baronage by Cardinal Langton.

the franchises their forefathers had enjoyed. He told them how that Henry Beauclerc, elected by Clergy and people, received his Crown by the advice and consent of the Baronage—*Sciatis me, Dei misericordia et communi consilio et assensu Baronum Regni Angliæ, ejusdem Regni Regem coronatum esse.* The Archbishop read and expounded the muniment to them word by word, from the greeting to the testing clause; and when he had read the Charter, and it was heard and understood by the Baronage, they rejoiced greatly, and swore that for those liberties, if needed, they would fight until the death. 1090—1101

Substantially, all the remedial provisions of Beauclerc's Charter were transferred into Magna Charta: and, expanded and expounded by practice, by legislation, and more than all, by the acuteness and dexterity of the Lawyers, settled the ground-plan of our legal Constitution. But these Provisions sink into comparative insignificance beside the single paragraph which restores the Law of the Confessor:—*Lagam Edwardi Regis vobis reddo cum illis emendationibus, quibus eam emendavit Pater meus, consilio Baronum suorum.*—Not, as we are wont to think, merely the details of the ancient Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence in each particular, the Teutonisms which wore themselves out in England as elsewhere by the general progress of society, but the solemn and comprehensive declaration that henceforward, Beauclerc's Charter the precedent for Magna Charta.

1096—1101 as before, England was to continue England; the English nation to retain their integrity, and the nationality of the Kingdom to be preserved.

1100. September. Robert enters Normandy, and after a contest with Henry's partizans is reinstated in the Duchy.

§ 28. Upon the death of Rufus, Normandy fell at once into a state of great confusion. William of Evreux and Ralph de Conches invaded the territories of Mellent; and all the private feuds and dissensions which had been repressed by the late King were renewed. Boldly, but not unwisely, Henry determined to be the successor of his Father the Conqueror in all his dominions. He knew that the two States could not be held in rivalry, even a legislative union might be desirable. The Baronage, who had just acknowledged him in England, would renounce him at their pleasure: it was quite certain that all who might hold for Robert, Duke of Normandy, would try, sooner or later, to place that Duke of Normandy upon the throne of England.

In the meanwhile Robert Courthose was advancing steadily and confidently, Sibylla by his side. Whilst Harvest was reaping, he entered his own confines, about a fortnight after Henry had been crowned. Henry's partizans, who held Domfront and other strong positions, especially in the Côtentin, offered a strenuous resistance, but they were not supported, and Robert was recognized throughout the Duchy without further opposition. He was desired by the Norman Baronage, because they expected that his govern-

ment would allow them to have their own way; and the beautiful and wise Sibylla obtained for her thoughtless and indolent Husband a degree of affection which would have been denied to him on his own account. 1096—1101

Robert and Sibylla went in pilgrimage to the Mont St. Michel, with the intent of testifying their thankfulness for the prosperity which had attended their return. Not long afterwards a pleasant report spread amongst the smiling gossips;—Grave men spoke of the future prospects of the country;—Astrologers began to make rough calculations of the aspects of the Planets next summer;—all rejoiced that Robert might expect an heir; and a new sentiment of attachment to the Sovereign pervaded a people amongst whom such feelings had appeared lost. Sibylla *enceinte* of William the Clito.

§ 29. More apprehensions therefore for Beauclerc, more reasons to fear the pretensions of Robert, more efforts required to secure the Crown by engrafting the Royal authority upon the affections of the people. 1100. September. Flambard deprived of his offices, and imprisoned in the White Tower.

There are two modes of conciliating a nation. Confer upon them some real or supposed benefit, or concede to their passions and prejudices. We have seen how Beauclerc had solemnly engaged to amend the evil customs prevailing in the land. Popular opinion ascribed the griefs and grievances equally to Rufus and to Flambard. The talent of the latter had excited great envy. There were

1096–1101 many, even yet, who, as at the commencement of his career, would have been glad literally to pitch him overboard into the water. This operation was performed metaphorically. He was a wise man who said that much of the art of government consisted in knowing how to throw out the tub to the whale. Therefore, by the advice of his ready Counsellors, Henry resorted to the expedient, as convenient to the Monarch as it is agreeable to the Subjects, the sacrifice of an obnoxious Minister.

Flambard accused of peculation.

No impeachment could possibly be brought against Flambard's capacity and diligence as a man of business; but it was alleged that he had misapplied or embezzled the royal revenues;—one of those accusations made so easily and refuted so hardly. Flambard, the Justiciar, the Bishop of Durham, was deprived of all his offices: and, though in the background, Roger the convenient Clerk of Caen, became Henry's chief confidant and adviser. Flambard's temporalities were sequestrated, and he was placed in confinement in the upper story of Gundulph's Tower, safe under the key of William de Magnaville. Here, however, he was treated honourably, his fetters were struck off, and they allowed him two shillings a day for his entertainment, money which he husbanded and afterwards well employed. That lofty, massy, sturdy White Tower was a woeful monument of Norman tyranny; yet it gave great delight to the Citizens when they looked

up at the double arched columned window immediately below the battlements, and knew that the Financier who squeezed out the money which built the Tower was kept in durance there. 1096—1101

§ 30. Concurrently with odious Flambard's deprivation and disgrace, did Henry determine to reinstate Anselm. This measure was one of the greatest national importance. Henry had not been inaugurated by the proper functionary. Bishop Maurice usurped upon the rights of his Metropolitan. None but an Archbishop of Canterbury could accept and confirm a King. The office of the Archbishop was judicial as well as ministerial. Unless Anselm ratified the transaction, the title of Henry was incomplete: by reinstating Anselm he submitted to traditionary principles, and paid a most grateful tribute to national feelings. All loved the Pastor who had been so troubled for righteousness' sake. All honoured the Metropolitan of the British Islands, the Premier member of the Great Council. The presence of Anselm would be a stronger pledge than oath or charter, that Henry would govern justly, with equity and with mercy. 1600. September. Archbishop Anselm recalled by Beauclerc.

Anselm's exile had become a continued triumph, the usual consequence when a Sovereign pits himself against an inferior, and fails in putting him down. Upon quitting England, Anselm had joined Urban. He attended the memorable 1098. October. Honours rendered to Anselm by the Pope in the Council of Bari.

1096–1101 Council of Bari, the scene of the intemperate conferences between the representatives of the Eastern and Western Churches. During the discussions, Urban, distrusting his own powers, or believing himself unable to pursue his arguments effectually, called out to Anselm, who was sitting silent below, "Come forth, where art thou?—thou, my Father, thou, my Teacher, thou Anselm, Primate of Britain;"—and then the Pope, opening to the Council how much Anselm had suffered in the good cause, and placing him nearest to his own Throne, addressed him as the brother Pope, the *alterius orbis Papa*, bearing that singular testimony to the peculiar character of the English Church, and the great pre-eminence of her Metropolitan dignity.

1099. Anselm at Lyons. The details of Anselm's journeys and proceedings, interesting as they are, whether in the general Ecclesiastical history of Europe or the particular biography of the man, can find no place here. We must therefore meet him again in the noble city of Lyons, where his residence, adjoining the Cathedral, distinguished by Mosaic ornaments and Romanesque arches, still calls for the attention of the Architectural antiquary. Two quiet years ensued. Active, though in seclusion, placing himself under canonical obedience, Anselm became coadjutor to the Archbishop of Lyons, employing himself also in composing those treatises which have rendered

him so eminent as a Theologian in Western Christendom. 1096—1101

Labour increased, Anselm yearned for solitude, and a neighbouring province afforded an inviting sanctuary. About fifty years before, Saint Robert of Poitiers had founded the Abbey of La Chaise Dieu, in Auvergne: for its site he chose a forest, till then uncleared, and the settlement proceeded so slowly that the Church had only been recently consecrated by Urban. Thither Anselm migrated, the better to pursue his studies; but, on the third day, just located in his cell, he was strangely surprized by the appearance of two Monks, his brethren, well-known faces, old companions from England and from Normandy, one from Canterbury, the other from Bec-Hellouin.—Eadmer, and the Clerks composing the Archbishop's little suite, retired respectfully, and stood at a small distance. They beheld or heard him weeping bitterly.—What was the intelligence the Monks had brought? They had told him how Rufus had fallen.

1100. Anselm at the Abbey of La Chaise Dieu.

Deputation from Canterbury and Bec, informing him of the death of Rufus.

Anselm returned to Lyons. More messengers were despatched to him: another Deputation, sent by his Church of Canterbury, relating all the particulars of the late events, how miserably Rufus had died, and earnestly exhorting him to return. Anselm demurred; but after consultation with the Archbishop of Lyons, he determined to venture back to England, taking the road

Another deputation from Canterbury inviting him to England.

1096—1101 through Clugny. Whilst on his way, but before his arrival, he was encountered by King Henry's Herald, bearing the Letter, sealed with the King's broad Seal, addressed to Anselm in the name of the Sovereign and all the people of England, imploring his return to his flock with the utmost expedition, for the comfort of the desolated Church and Realm. Henry proceeds to give instructions which shew how earnest he was in the request, directing the details of the route, and the means provided for facilitating the journey.

Letter despatched to him by Henry, exhorting him to return.

Conforming to the King's suggestions, Anselm avoided Normandy, thus indicating an apprehension that Robert might intercept him. He entered the friendly County of Boulogne, and, embarking at Whitsand, now so entirely superseded by Calais, he landed on the Feast of St. Tekla at Dover, where he was greeted by King and people. Henry, his Nobles, Courtiers, Barons, Clerks, all the Royal Suite and train, were at a loss to find words which would adequately express their joy and humility: the King most of all. What could be done without the Archbishop of Canterbury? The affairs of the Kingdom were completely at a stand still, awaiting his counsel and care.—Anselm, as he was told, had also much to rejoice at. He beheld the commencement of a new and auspicious era. England had broken her bondage, emerged from her misery.

1100. Sept. 23. Anselm lands at Dover.

Graciously received by the King and Baronage.

The King had restored liberty to the Church, reformed abuses, and renewed the good laws and usages of the Confessor's reign. 1096—1101

All this was very true in the letter, and tolerably accurate in the spirit: nevertheless Henry Beauclerc was the own brother of William Rufus, the Grandson of William the Conqueror, embued with all the traditions of Royalty, determined to rule in the plenitude of power. There was no equivocation in his conduct. Henry Beauclerc, still unanointed and uncrowned, his Royalty merely in the budding stage of developement, had commenced his administration by presenting Chancellor Gifford.—Cherishing the *Consuetudines paternæ*, and pledging himself in his own heart and mind not to abate a jot of his supremacy over the Clergy, he would exercise his authority in Church-affairs somewhat more decently than his Father, and a great deal more than his Brother; but that was all. Henry insists upon his authority over the Church.

Henry's concessions in favour of the Church, with which his Charter opens, therefore amounted to nothing—he would not sell or seize that which he had no right to seize or sell. And he soon took occasion to remove all uncertainty concerning the extent of the prerogatives, which, to use his own expression, he valued as much as half his Kingdom:—the Governor of the State not governing the Church, was only half a Governor. Shortly after Anselm's arrival, a con- Henry requires Anselm to perform homage.

1096–1101 ference took place between him and Henry at Salisbury. Henry, by accepting consecration from Bishop Maurice, had infringed the privileges of Canterbury. He repeated his apologies, —first made by letter,—and excused himself on account of the urgency of the case, which did not allow him to wait till Anselm's return. Anselm readily accepted the King's gracious apologies; but Henry followed up his courtesy by requiring Anselm to perform homage, and receive anew the Archbishoprick from his hands.

Construction of Henry's demand.

Lofty as the pretensions of the Crown had been, this demand was entirely unprecedented, at least so far as we can collect from any existing historical evidence. It imported that, upon the death of the Sovereign, the Archbishop's commission, so to speak, expired—that his office was subordinate and derivative, and the dignity therefore reverted to the Crown. With respect to civil Dignities, or Lands, or Privileges granted by the King, new Charters were usually sued out, and confirmations sought and obtained from the new Sovereign. It is a very obscure point in our ancient Constitution how far a lapse took place upon what is technically called the mutation of the Lord. Some opinions incline to the affirmative, yet hesitatingly. At all events, we have no trace that this principle was ever extended to the Church; and if the restitution of the Temporalities was to be made afresh upon each

accession, a similar liability with respect to the Spiritual office would have followed. Possibly Henry held that Anselm's exile was equivalent to a forfeiture; and that, being absolutely divested of his Archbishoprick, a new Patent was needed. 1096—1101

However, Henry clearly assumed, or believed, that the ordinary and general prerogative of investiture upon promotions, was involved in this extraordinary and particular case; and he urged his claim with consistent firmness and determination.—Such was his character in all things. He was cunning or frank, as occasion required. His very astuteness taught him the necessity of a plain and straightforward course in the execution of his power; and the advantage which a Monarch derives from the clear enunciation of his will. When he effected his reform of weights and measures, it was said he made the length of his own arm the standard of the mete-wand: a myth unquestionably, yet a type of the impression which he produced upon the public mind. Henry was conscientious in his demand: that is, he believed himself to be in the right. Anselm, in full, entire and hearty accordance with the decrees lately promulgated in the Council of Rome, by which the Canons against Lay-investiture were sternly renewed, equally so: he therefore peremptorily refused.—If the King would receive the Canons of the Church, and, Henry's determination to carry his point.

1096—1101 having received, would observe them, there should be firm peace between him and Anselm, and Anselm would continue in England. If not, there would be neither decency nor utility in remaining. Unless King Henry would obey Pope Pascal, he, Archbishop Anselm, would go.

This explanation put Henry in great trouble. If he surrendered the Investiture, he gave up, as it seemed to him, a most important element of his royal power—if he refused that surrender, then Anselm would probably employ his great influence in favour of Robert, and he might lose the Kingdom. Both parties were firm, but both kept their temper. It was agreed, upon the King's request, that an embassy should be sent to Rome, for the purpose of inducing Pope Pascal to render the Canons of the Church conformable with the usages of the Realm; and that until Easter, matters should remain as they were.

Agreement that the discussion shall be adjourned till Easter, 1101: an Embassy to be sent in the meanwhile to Rome.

§ 31. Anselm, though not anticipating any favourable result, agreed to this compromise, in order to shew his goodwill to the King,—Henry, for the purpose of retaining Anselm's support and assistance, and of gaining time. So much *is* said about State-craft: so many speculations are started and ventilated concerning the deep-laid plans and prospective imaginations of Kings and Ministers, that one is often apt, out of mere perversity, to imagine there is no such thing at all.

Henry's plans of government.

But when we review Beauclerc's actions throughout his public life, from its spirited and adventurous commencement to the saddening close, we shall be thoroughly convinced that he pursued a well-considered system of policy and government, most influential upon the future fate and fortunes of the Realm, for Henry is the first of our Constitutional Kings. Imaginative, yet thoughtful, books and study had matured his mind; the world's lessons disciplined him, and at this present moment, he fully appreciated the difficulties of his situation and the instability of his Throne. He had in fact come in upon a new title, and effected a total change in the principles of the Monarchy. The assent of the people had always been expressed when the Sovereign was recognized, good government enforced as the duty of the legitimate Monarch; but Henry referred his accession to the choice of the people, and rendered the reform of government a condition precedent to his obtaining the Crown. He treated with the people, and treating implies equality.

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Difficulties of Henry's situation.

Our modern political phraseology has developed in proportion to the expansion of the modern ideas of which our language is the exponent. Both ideas and language have become luxuriant by cultivation. The mediæval nomenclature of political phraseology was very scanty; but the plain terms employed were the more deeply significant. Henry could scarcely deny

1096—1101 but that a King elected by Clergy and people might be deposed by Clergy and people. Constitutional principles are grounded upon the calculations of self-interest, not always directed to material wealth, yet scarcely less selfish, though the object may be more noble. Fact may be opposed to fact: argument rebutted by argument. Lecture the Chartist upon the advantages of Monarchy, and he will point to the President at Washington, and content himself with this practical refutation of the Conservative's mild homily.

Constitutional principles antagonistical to loyalty.

The antagonistic principle to constitutional utilitarianism is found in the happy inconsistency of loyalty. By loyalty we mean, not that higher principle commanding submission to Kings and Princes as the appointed Vicegerents of God, the principle which renders obedience a religious duty and rebellion a sin, but love and attachment to the Sovereign's person—analogous to the instinctive and natural affection which we bear or ought to bear to our kinsmen as such: dear to us because they are near to us, overlooking their faults, magnifying their good qualities, and holding to them not only without reason but even against reason.

And in the same manner as the gift of *storge*, or natural affection, constitutes the strongest bond and chief solace of private life, so do those nations amongst whom the corresponding sentiments of loyalty are paramount, enjoy the most

ample compensation not only for the deficiency of cultivation or knowledge, art or science, wealth or opulence, but even for liberty. Whatever raises man out of selfishness, raises man above the ordinary baseness of human nature. You love your Chieftain for his sake, not your own; that simple sentiment of disinterestedness imparts an enduring happiness and a moral dignity, which none of the abstractions of political philosophy, or the corporeal or intellectual appetites of self-interest, or the sophisms promulgated for the defence of the interests of self-interest, can supply. And inasmuch as this feeling of loyalty is a moral instinct, it may be doubted whether it really ever exists, except when inspired by hereditary right, so long continued as to appear indefeasible. Thinking over history, we shall find it next to impossible to deny this proposition.—In the one example which approaches nearest to prove that national pride or national gratitude, may create loyalty, the proof will fail. Those who gloried most in Napoleon, those who most truly appreciated his virtues and merits, were the most dastardly in shirking and shrinking from any risk or sacrifice which might have averted his fall.

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Loyalty rarely rendered except to hereditary right.

§ 32. The general opinion entertained amongst the English, that the Porphyrogenitus could be called an Englishman, afforded a sentiment susceptible of being nursed into an imperfect loyalty.

Henry seeks Editha in marriage.

1096—1101 It was somewhat of a delusion, but they comforted themselves with the notion that the Norman born in England was their countryman. Still more cordially did they cherish the idea that in Margaret's descendants they found the true Royal line. And upon this substratum of predilection did Henry, not without great shrewdness, nor without a tinge of better feeling than mere shrewdness, ground his scheme of conciliating the conquered race, thus healing the wounds which his father had inflicted, governing by kindness as well as by authority, and legitimating the Crown, not alone for himself, but for his progeny. The ordinary desire of transmitting his dominion to his own child, was in Henry the ruling passion, not subdued or diminished by his licentiousness. The English doctrine that Margaret represented their ancient Sovereigns, was scarcely more than a fancy. The Crown, adopting the language of the Anglo-Saxon traditionary jurisprudence, as employed by Alfred in his Will, never could be transmitted through the *Spindle-side*.—Those who could deduce their royal blood through the *Sword-side* were in strictness the only legal inheritors; but affection cures the defects of title; and in the same manner as Maria Theresa, commanding the ardent and enthusiastic love of her subjects, conveyed the rights, the claims, the pretensions and the sentiments of the House of Austria to the family of Lorraine, so did the

same sympathy, unbought, unprompted and uncontrolled, not seeking for close precedent, nor reduceable to accurate political reasoning, cause the English to contemplate Margaret as their lawful Queen. 1096—1101

Henry had loved, or imagined he loved, Edith: this also had become a matter of popular belief. We like to grace the State of Royalty with the affections of the heart; and to ornament the heart's affections by the pomp of Royalty; a marriage with Margaret's daughter would not only strengthen Henry's title, but give him a confident expectation of securing the Crown for his posterity. Henry propounded the matter to his Barons and Counsellors. The Bishops advised him. By Anselm, Edith was loved and honoured for her mother's sake and her own. All the High men of the land concurred, or appeared to do so: the Scottish Edgar, (who like his namesake the Atheling had renounced his English rights) cordially accepted the King of England, his liege Lord, as a brother-in-law, and a glad consent was given by the maiden.

§ 33. There were, however, difficulties in the way. It was needful to dissolve the connexion between Henry and the lovely Nesta: we cannot call their union concubinage, we dare not call it marriage. Conjecture may apply the epithet *wife* to all or any one of the three Beauties who presided in Arthur's Court, and Nesta might

Henry discards Nesta, and marries her to Gerald deWindsor.

1096—1101 be contented to abide under the like ambiguity; but this perplexity received a satisfactory settlement. Amongst the adventurers who followed the standard of Arnolph de Montgomery into the devoted Dyfed, Pembroke, the *England beyond Wales*, was one Gerald de Windesore, supposed to be of English race, and conspicuous for his valour. Henry knew Pembroke well, and all the concerns and interests of the settlers and the natives; and to this worthy Gerald, Henry offered the Nesta, his first Love, she who had followed him to Caen, and with whom he had lived happily for many a year.

According to the lax principles prevailing during this era, Nesta was not disgraced by her dubious Consortship—we are really puzzled as to terminology—while Gerald was honoured by receiving her hand. Nesta still shone in the full bloom of beauty. Her father, Rhys-ap-Tudor Mawr, had bestowed upon her as a species of dowry, the Lordship of *Caeraw*, supposed to have been an ancient residence of the Cymric Princes. The noble Castle here erected became the Head of Gerald's Barony: from Gerald and Nesta sprung the haughty Geraldines of Ireland; whilst the name of the Barony, softened or Anglicized into *Carew*, was adopted as the surname of the junior branch of the family. We shall hear more of Gerald and Nesta hereafter—but not comfortably. We must leave them now.

Carew Castle Nesta's dowry.

Henry felt small sorrow at the parting. He was becoming thoroughly accustomed to such things; but his strong parental affection for his bright boy, Robert of Caen, was not to be diminished by separation from his child's mother. Robert, loving and loved, endued with excellent natural gifts, was treasured by his Father, carefully and tenderly educated, and acknowledged as his first-born son. A tempting condition this for a Bastard; yet Robert of Caen, afterwards *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, never swerved from his allegiance to the legitimate Heir, never was he seduced from the obligations of duty, the mirror of fealty and honour.

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Robert of Gloucester, Henry's first-born, excellence of his character.

§ 34. Far more formidable was another obstacle presented against the marriage. Very many considered it as a great scandal,—some objectors may have been conscientious, some over scrupulous, but, as we also suspect, some were Norman ill-wishers, who bore a grudge against Henry or Edith, or against both,—alleging as an impediment that the veiled Edith, *Sister Edith*, was incompetent to take the marriage-vow—she a professed Nun! They cried out shame against Anselm, for his connivance in this uncanonical proceeding. The opposition was grounded upon common fame and report. Edith had been generally known in England as an inmate of Romsey Abbey, arrayed in the monastic garb, sighing under the strict disci-

Opposition to the marriage upon the ground that Edith was a professed Nun.

1096—1101 pline of her Aunt, the vigilant Christina; and it was believed that her parents had consecrated her to the Altar from her earliest infancy. Such an allegation could not be disposed of summarily: it was needful to remove any doubt that might affect the legality of the marriage, and the legitimacy of the royal progeny: the concern, not merely of the parties, but of the whole Kingdom. Anselm's character was at stake, and he determined to settle the question judicially. Wise and wary, he proceeded with great strictness. If he, individually, took upon himself to give a decision agreeable to the King, he would inevitably be accused of partiality: if adverse, he would incur great odium from the King, who would attribute his judgment to hostility.

Anselm's cautious conduct.

Edith was in the first place examined, and she gave the testimony which we have already set forth, how she was accustomed to tear the veil off her head and tread upon it, and how King Malcolm her father used to swear that he would rather see her Earl Alan's wife than locked up in a monastery.—Her deposition almost sufficed to discharge her. Anselm, the *alterius orbis Papa*, perpetual Legate of the Holy See, might of his own authority have declared Edith free; but, for the before-mentioned reasons, he declined incurring the personal responsibility, and a great Council was assembled,

Council at Canterbury

Bishops, Abbots, Nobles and Clergy.—They met at Lambeth, then belonging to the Church of Rochester: that *Manor*—(mistakenly called a Palace),—now connected in idea so inseparably with Canterbury, not having become a Metropolitan residence till the twelfth century. Two venerable commissioners, William, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Humbald, Archdeacon of Salisbury, produced the evidence which they had collected, corroborating the statement made by Edith.—Edith again appeared, and repeated her former declaration; and it was decided that the damsel was free from vow or censure.

1096—1101 for the examination of the question. Edith declared free.

Wife and Queen did Edith become on one and the same Martinmas-day. The doors of the Abbey were thrown open when the marriage was celebrated: Clergy and Nobility filled the sacred building: the populace surrounded the walls: Anselm proclaimed the Banns, summoning all who could allege any just cause or impediment to state the same. A universal acclamation arose,—there was none: Anselm proceeded with the Benediction, and the nuptial rites were immediately followed by the Queen's Coronation.

1101. Nov. 11. Marriage and Coronation of Edith, who assumes the name of Matilda.

Not however, as Edith, was the Lady of England anointed and crowned. To gratify Norman nationality she assumed the honoured name of Matilda: the English grudged it not. Margaret had trained up her daughter to become an English Queen in the Palace of Dunfermline;

1096—1101 formerly an alien in her native land, Matilda was now amongst her own people: Scotland was foreign to her, she had reached her real home. Good Queen Maude, Goodwife Maude, Goody Maude, became the object of the most earnest affection.—She deserved it well from the English, she deserved it from all—holy in a Palace as she would have been in a Monastery; nay holier, for the trials she sustained as a wife were more grating and galling than any which a Convent's discipline imposed.

Matilda's character, talents, and virtues.

§ 35. Her character united piety and activity. Her love for the poor was unbounded. Discovered by her Husband washing the feet of the Lepers, that act, one of the hardest sacrifices of natural feeling, was not an exception from her course of life, or a formal ceremony, but merely ranking amongst the deeds in which she was habitually employed. Her accomplishments, the fruits of her training and education, were brilliant. The Latin language was familiar to her,—yet, let it be observed, that we do not reckon this acquirement as any thing very extraordinary. What French afterwards became the Latin continued to be in the eleventh century, the token of the education constituting the distinction between the higher and the lower classes of Society.—A more forcible proof of Matilda's intellectual cultivation is found in the fact, that to her we owe Turgot's most valuable biography

Matilda's knowledge of the Latin language.

Life of St. Margaret composed by Turgot at Matilda's request, and dedicated to her.

of her Mother, furnishing the lively and authentic materials for Malcolm's times and reign. To her it is addressed—"*Venerandæ memoriæ Matris vestræ placitam Deo conversationem, quam consona multorum laude sæpius prædicari audieratis, ut literis traditam vobis offerrem, et postulando jussistis, et jubendo postulastis.*"—Matilda ordered Turgot to compose the Work by requesting, and, requesting, she commanded that perennial memorial of her Mother's sanctity, talent, and love. 1096—1101

Latin poetry patronized by Matilda.

Matilda delighted in sacred music: no other recreation did she allow herself, unless we reckon as recreation the pleasure she derived from sacred verse. This was the period when the harmony of rhyme, superseding the measured numbers of Classical antiquity, imparted to Rome's language a new magnificence and full-toned melody. Matilda greatly patronized the Clerks who excelled in this branch of Latin poesy. The only recorded fault in Matilda's character, pointed out by the Monk of Malmesbury, was her liberality to the Clerks by whom these Hymns and Proses were composed.

Matilda's wedding feast.

§ 36. Never, since the Battle of Hastings, had there been such a joyous day as when Queen Maude was crowned in the Abbey of Westminster, and the Marriage Banquet held in the Great New Hall. Amongst the guests there was an old grey-headed Thane, now they called him a Knight,

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The Confessor's vision prophesying the restoration of the Saxon line.

who had lived in the Confessor's days, one of the few survivors who remembered the Confessor, and who had known him well; oft had he served at the Board of the honoured King. And the Knight stood up, and related to the silent and admiring multitude the vision of the night which had floated before the Confessor when banished in Normandy—that dream which he himself had heard the Confessor relate with prophetic mystery. It was the dream of a green tree, uprooted and cast down, a mighty verdant tree, so lofty that the trunk and branchage extended three-acre lengths when lying on the ground; but the tree was upreared and planted again, and the sap flowed with renewed vitality.

"And now," said the Knight, "I know the vision's meaning. That Tree betokened the old abundant realm, the *Kynryk* of England, cast down three-acre lengths—Harold,—the Bastard,—and the Red King;—but now is the Tree raised again in Maude, our Lady Queen: whose Saxon and whose Scottish blood will bear both fruit and flower." The whole English Nation accepted the augury, now again was the right old royal line restored to the Throne;—Matilda, the daughter of Margaret, the daughter of Edward, the son of Edmund, the son of Ethelred, the son of Edgar, the son of Edmund, the son of Edward, the son of Alfred, the son of Ethelwolf, the son of Egbert, the son of Alcmund, the son of Offa, the

Matilda's genealogy deduced from Cerdic and Woden.

son of Eoppa, the son of Ingils, the son of Ina, the son of Cenred, the son of Ceolwald, the son of Cutha, the son of Cuthwyn, the son of Celin, the son of Cynric, the son of Creoda, the son of Cerdic, and so on to Woden—the rightful heir of the Imperial Crown. 1096—1101

§ 37. Matilda was heartily loved by the people, and their love was transmitted and adorned through the traditions of after-times.—Maude obtained for us our Liberties, said the Englishman: they told how she had won the Charter from the King, who had sportively challenged her, riding unclad through London streets, veiled only by her long and flowing hair. To Matilda's intercession also were ascribed the "good Laws" which Henry made in *Engelonde*,—laws resulting from her kindly influence and his wisdom. Both King and Queen deserved the praise; and the Code existing under his name is the testimony of the affection earned by Matilda and the doctrines of government adopted by her husband. We thus must receive *Leges Henrici*, the Digest or collection of the Usages and Laws which had prevailed under the Confessor, and which prepared the way for the system of *Common Law*, once so fondly venerated as the perfection of human wisdom.

Matilda's supposed influence upon Henry's administration.

The Charter ascribed to her kind intervention.

The *Leges Henrici Primi*, an Anglo-Saxon code, dedicated to Henry and his Queen.

Henry's merits as a Legislator obtained for him an European reputation. His wisdom consisted in seeking the advice and assistance of the

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wise. The Jurists whom he employed availed themselves of the ancient Latin translations of the Anglo-Saxon *Dooms;* and the dedication of the Code to Henry and Matilda, composed at an early period of their married life, declares the parity of their Royal State, implying that Henry ruled as much by marital right as by any inherent authority, whether the latter resulted from the people's choice, or devolved upon him by descent from the Conqueror of England.

Political importance of Henry's marriage.

Besides the influence which Henry gained over the English by his union with Matilda, it conduced greatly to his political stability.

Mary, Matilda's sister, married to Eustace of Boulogne.

On the Continent, he was much advantaged by the marriage of Mary, the pious and wise sister of Matilda, to Eustace of Boulogne, who, returning from the Crusades, resumed the government of his County; and through this marriage also arose another English Queen, another Matilda, the energetic and virtuous wife of Stephen of Blois, future King of England.

Scotland more closely united to England by the marriage.

But far more important were the international benefits obtained thereby in the North of the island. No fear any longer of a Scottish raid, no dread of Kern or Catheran. Edgar, the Anglo-Saxon King of Scotland, rejoiced that his sister *should* have found a Consort in the Anglo-Norman Monarch, whose cultivation was so congenial to his own. All the interests of Edgar were identified with Henry's interests: all the affinities of

Edgar were English,—the ordinances of the Church, the language, the laws, the policy of England, constituted a bond of union, gratified his tastes,—above all, afforded the means of defence against his Gaelic subjects, his hated enemies: so long as Henry lived, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Scoto-Saxon Britain, constituted a family Kingdom. 1096—1101

§ 38. Martinmas drew on to Christmas. The Holy tide was celebrated with unusual splendour. Years and years had passed since a Queen had graced the festal board, and now Matilda gave joy and elegance to the Festival. Robert and his Sibylla were equally flourishing in apparent prosperity at Rouen. Each Brother might have enjoyed his own with comfort and happiness; but they envied one another worse than ever, and their bad passions were fomented by their partizans. Robert's position was unchanged from that which it had been on the accession of Rufus: Brother hating Brother, each preparing for the blow. Subsisting enmity between Henry and Robert.

During all these proceedings, Flambard continued caged in the White Tower. We do not invent this figure of speech, but borrow it from Anselm, who, with more exultation than we could have wished, tells us how the people rejoiced at the capture of the raging Lion. Henry continued to treat Flambard honourably, but the deposed Prime Minister could not be at ease. When first arrest- 1101. February. Flambard's escape from the Tower.

1096—1101 ed, he applied to his Metropolitan, Thomas Archbishop of York, for assistance: the Archbishop repelled the disgraced Favourite as a scurvy knave, and disowned him as a Bishop or a Brother.

Archbishop Thomas refuses to assist Flambard.

Anselm having arrived, Flambard tried his chance again, and sought aid from the Metropolitan of all Britain, claiming the immunity due to his Station and Order. Anselm behaved austerely, and sent a deputation of four Bishops to the incarcerated and reviled ex-justiciar, requiring him to shew how and in what manner, and under what circumstances, he had obtained his preferment; and thus to clear himself from the charge of simony. Considering how very awkward such interrogatories would have been to the majority of the Episcopal Bench, it was somewhat hard to push the enquiry against a man in trouble. Flambard either refused to answer or answered unsatisfactorily, so he was left as before. His situation became very anxious: he was now in the Palace-story of the White Tower, but Henry could, at any hour of day or night, order him to be let down into the pit, deep below the level of the Thames; and however mitigated, confinement was most irksome to his active, stirring character. Instead of allowing these circumstances to depress his spirits, he improved his advantages. With his ample allowance, the two shillings a-day regularly paid out of the Royal treasury, he was enabled to keep a splendid table.

Anselm, the like.

Stratagem by which Flambard escaped.

Merry sounds and voices of jollity proceeding from the Bishop's Chamber, often announced to the garrison that Flambard was entertaining the friends permitted to visit him in his captivity. He also continually invited his keepers to share in the good cheer. They ate with him, they drank with him,—they were amused by him. Flambard's wit, readiness, and talent, no less than his liberality, rendered him a general favourite. Hence, the Bishop's acquaintances forgot his delinquencies in his conversation, and all distrust and suspicion were lulled. Flambard's friends without, having arranged their schemes, the Bishop entertained his prison party with more than usual spirit and festivity.—The carouse is over: all are conquered by the good liquor except the Bishop: overcome by the potent drink with which he had supplied and plied them, Warders and Gaolers, every one, were snoring on the benches or stretched on the floor. 1096—1101

Flambard intoxicates his wardens.

Sober Flambard, uncovering an empty flagon, took out a carefully coiled rope, concealed in the vessel, and, fastening it to the column which divided the window of his chamber, slid himself down. He took with him his Pastoral staff, but he forgot his Episcopal gloves; the rough rope rubbed the skin off his hands, almost the flesh; and the rope's length being insufficient, the *Corpulentus Flamen*, as Ordericus latinizes Flambard, dropped heavily to the ground. He was

Escapes by letting himself down from the window.

1096—1101 grievously hurt, but his friends were ready at the foot of the wall: swift horses were prepared, and he and his trusty companions galloped away, and reaching the coast, he embarked for Normandy. Flambard's abundant means had facilitated every requisite for the journey.—Two Vessels were ready: in the one he embarked, upon the other he placed his treasures and his ugly decrepit Mother. Pirates, as they are called, attacked the treasure-ship, plundered its contents, stripped and ill-treated the poor old defamed woman, and put her ashore in Normandy. Flambard landed safely; and, joyfully received by Robert, he soon obtained more influence over him than he had even exercised upon Rufus. Robert placed Flambard at the head of his affairs, and he now began a new and successful career.

1101. January.—March. Anticipations of troubles and disturbances.

§ 39. Notwithstanding the support which Henry received from the Anglo-Norman Baronage in England, he knew them too well to trust them as a body. If any continued faithful, they would be exceptions from the general rule. The majority had accepted him simply as the lesser evil: not out of affection, but from fear. There was no escaping the inconveniences of divided allegiance; if it suited them better that England and Normandy should be united in the person of Robert than in the person of Henry, no principle could restrain them. With the Church, the great question between the Pon-

tificate and the Crown was left entirely unsettled. 1096—1101
How would the contest be determined? Was Beauclerc to retain the prerogatives which he claimed as inherent in the Imperial Crown, or would those concessions be made which would restore the Church to her canonical position in the Monarchy?—There was a truce till next Easter. When Easter comes, what will be the position of the contending parties?—Moreover, it was very difficult to trim the Vessel of the State. Henry had given a very distinct recognition of English nationality, and this conduct had, at the very moment, begun to estrange that dominant race, hitherto identified with the conquering dynasty.

The Normans jealous of Henry's Anglicism.

With the English, Henry might have retained an undiminished and undivided popularity. Gaffer Goodrich, as he was called from his English speech and English manners, was in a fair way of being loved like Goody Maude. He strenuously punished the offences most grievous to the common people, mutilated the false moneyers, hanged the thieves, did much that was beneficial, and promised more. But there was one thing which Henry would not promise, one point upon which he would not pretend to dissemble.—When he stood before the Altar at Westminster, a candidate suing for the people's voice, there was one pledge he would not give. Gracious were his promises; but one reservation destroyed the

Henry refuses to the English any modification of the Forest-Laws.

1096—1101 grace of them all, "*Forestas in manu mea retinui, sicut Pater meus eas habuit.*"—Henry would not allow his *Roc's Egg* to be touched—He was his father's son: he would not be delivered from his ruling passion, he would not be cured of his monomania; and thereby he secured an enduring cause of dissension between his Successors and their subjects, reign after reign; a perennial and springing source of vexations, hardships, and grievances, still unextirpated, in the Realm.—All would he have and hold that the Conqueror had and held, all the Forests, all the Chases, all the Parks, all the Purlieus, all the Jetten-Wald, all the clinging curses; nothing would he surrender—not a furlong of turf, not a bough of the tree, not an antler of the Hart, not a tusk of the Boar—no, not even for the Crown.—The first dirge sung for Henry Beauclerc, when the news of his death was spread, was the universal hue and cry—*Hurrah! the King is dead—Break down the fences—Kill the deer!*

Fall of the Tower at Winchester.

§ 40. Not long after the interment of Rufus, a terrible crash spread dismay throughout Winchester; the great, ponderous Cathedral Tower lately raised by Walkeline, fell down; and the common people immediately and universally accepted this event as a sign that the holy ground was indignant, at becoming the depository of the late King's defiled corpse. That a mere accident,

so ordinary and familiar, the collapse of an arch hastily built on an insufficient foundation, should be thus construed, is a remarkable proof of the detestation which Rufus had inspired. 1096—1101

Very many reports continued to be spread concerning the cause of his death, all bespeaking the general sentiment—disgust, loathing, horror. No one affected pity, or feigned a hope that Rufus had been moved to contrition, or had obtained mercy. Popular opinions concerning the death of Rufus.

Some said that, at the moment when Rufus expired, he had been seen carried away upon an enormous black Goat, who declared that he was the Fiend, bearing the Tyrant to eternal punishment.—Though no one could state his evidence, every body seemed at first to have his own story. Some said that Walter Tyrrell found him stone-dead, and had run away from apprehension of accusation; others, that Ralph de Aquis was the manslayer; whilst not a few maintained that Rufus certainly perished through his own impetuosity—in straining the stiff Arbalest his foot had slipped, and he was killed by his own starting weapon. Be this as it may, the charge brought against Ralph de Aquis was abandoned. That Tyrrell was the innocent, or perhaps meritorious, author of the King's death, became the version accepted by a species of compromise. However, in the manner commonly related, the narrative is evi- Contradictory reports and surmises as to the cause of the death of Rufus.

1096—1101 dently as much a fiction as the vision of the Demon. No one ever acknowledged being present when the King was struck;—Tyrrell always denied the fact: therefore the details of the glancing of the arrow, and the like, which appear in popular history, must have been pure and gratuitous inventions.

There was another story in general circulation, that about the very hour when Rufus breathed out his soul, Henry Beauclerc, having recently parted from him, was hunting in another and distant part of the Jetten-Wald. His Arbalest sprung. The accident happened in a spot where some few inhabitants still were left—the relics of a thorp; and here Henry, arriving at a hovel inhabited by the family of an English lands-man, alighted, and employed himself in knotting his broken bow-string.

Death of Rufus said to have been announced to Henry by a Sorceress.

Whilst thus at work, a Crone hobbled forth, and enquired of the lad who attended on him the Stranger's name:—"It is Henry, brother of our Lord the King."—"Nay, nay," murmured she, "say Henry the King: unless my spells be false, before the hour passes, Henry gains the royal Crown."—Henry mounts and spurs his steed—as he approaches the Lind-wood, riders come forth, first singly, then in encreasing parties, and he learns his Brother's death and his own good fortune,—and thus was he enabled to hasten to

Winchester, and, by preventing that opposition which would certainly have arisen had he delayed, to secure the throne. 1096—1101

Yet what was the truth? Were any of these stories true? Was the King slain by the misadventure of Ralph de Aix, or by the bow of the Châtellain of Poix, or by his own impetuous negligence, or by some undiscovered and murderous hand? All these questions were asked when the masons were clamping and sealing the cover of the dumb Stone Coffin in Winchester Cathedral, which still contains his bones—that prayerless Coffin without a name. No one could answer the questions: no one could tell, or dared to tell. Need we wonder that it is impossible for us even to guess at the truth, when we recollect that the faithful Eadmer, the eye and ear-witness of the transactions, which at the distance of eight centuries we narrate from his words, declares his utter inability to dispel the doubts he raised? Contemporaries of the event confessedly ignorant of the real facts.

It is evident that Rufus was deprived of all human prudence during the last days of his life. His own accusing conscience, conjoined to the widely-spread omens and expectations of his death, might well have suggested the possibility of some conspiracy formed for his destruction. But he acted as if he sought to invite the murderer. Even as the local recollections of holiness sometimes dispose the heart to good,

1096—1101 so is there a more certain contagion in the recollections of crime. Did we seek nothing more than mere comfort of mind, we should strive to keep away from the Chamber, the Valley, the Tree or the Rock, suggestive of iniquity or sin. Had the necessity of caution been impressed upon Rufus in this particular instance, as a mere worldly duty, by a Mellent or a Fitz-Hamo, it is probable that his shrewdness would have induced him to shun the spot where his Father's tyranny and his own, and the greedy expectancies to be gratified by his death, and the strange deaths also of two Kinsmen, might tempt the slaughter of a third member of the Norman dynasty.—But the warnings were given through those who believed that the tokens came from above, and not from man.—Therefore Rufus would not believe them. He derided and despised the faintest, feeblest echo of the Voice of Heaven.

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